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“GOD AND THE PEOPLE!”



"GOD AND THE PEOPLE!"

The Religious Creed of a Democrat

BEING SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF

JOSEPH MAZZINI

BY

CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D.

DEAN OF ELY

"Thy Kingdom come . . . on Earth!"

SECOND EDITION

London

T. FISHER UNWIN

1896

First Edition, 1891.
Second Edition, 1896.

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"Thou Prophet-soul in whom the God-fired Truth
 Of 'forced and desperate peace,'¹ heart-won from strife,
 Best Rhythmic, waking to a nation's life
 One people, recking not the envenomed tooth
 Of Treason or of Hate—Christ's creed in sooth
 Was thine; His Prayer—'on earth . . . the Reign of God'.
 Was thine, and thine the dolorous way He trod,
 To seeming friendless Failure void of ruth.

"My pledge, O Master, for that Realm unwon,
 Thy vision saw, for morning hopes all fled
 To blackest night, is still thy word—'God said,
 "Let there be Light!" and after set the Sun.'²
 So turn my face once more to kindling skies,
 And hail the Sun of New Epiphanies!"

¹ "In violente e desperata pace."—*Dante*.

² "In the Genesis of the Epochs, as in the Biblical Genesis, God illumines the abyss with light before He sets the sun in the heavens."—*Massini's Life*, vol. II., p. 151.

Préface to the First Edition.

SOME years ago, when the edition of "The Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini," which had been published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co., in yearly volumes during the period 1864-70, was exhausted, I projected a volume of selections from his writings. My hope had been that such a book would have been welcomed by all those who not only shared Mazzini's belief in the future of Democracy, but who also felt with him that no Democratic movement—no social transformation, in fact—could ever be a stable or a lasting one, which was not based on Religion; which was not the result of a strong and active common faith. For various reasons my project was for a time laid aside. During the last few years, however,—thanks very largely, no doubt, to Mrs. Hamilton

PREFACE.

King's beautiful poem of "The Disciples,"—a desire to know more of the great Italian patriot has been created. Several of his works have been republished in popular form, and the larger English edition in six volumes, so long out of print, has been re-issued. As these volumes, however, are still without an index, and are necessarily somewhat prohibitive in price, I have thought that it might still be useful to students of Mazzini if I printed the volume of Selections.

The Creed-form which has been adopted in the plan of arrangement will be recognised, I think, by every reader of Mazzini as characteristic of his manner. His style was always dogmatic and deductive, and several of his most impressive writings—as became, indeed, a Prophet whose most immediately practical ideas were still always founded on Eternal principles—conclude with a "Credo." The particular form which I have adopted is mainly based on the Creed which is given at the end of the pamphlet on "Religious Republicanism." This has been collated with two other Creed-forms, occurring elsewhere in his writings. A slight transposition of

clauses has been made, to give logical continuity to the whole, but no words have been used of which Mazzini is not strictly the author. •

It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to point out that Mazzini's Creed, the expression of a very noble theistic Faith indeed, must yet, for the Christian, remain incomplete, until at least these fundamental clauses can be added in their due relation :*—"We believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, the Redeemer and Emancipator of men's souls and bodies. We believe that Jesus Christ, in proclaiming a Fatherly Will, as the origin of all life and the root of Humanity, revealed to Man the Divine order under which he was living. We believe that in the historical evolution of that plan, the Holy Spirit of God is the acting motor of civilisation." •

I have added a list of the various editions

* I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a book of my own—"A Creed for Christian Socialists" (published in the Bellamy Library by W. Reeves, 1s.), in which I have endeavoured to formulate on Mazzini's lines, but on a distinctly Christian basis, "the Social Creed of the Church."

of his works, both in Italian and English, and also references to articles in English and American periodical literature, which may, perhaps, be helpful to students. .

C. W. S.

WAVERTREE RECTORY, *September 3, 1891.*

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The Creed.

WE believe in one God, the Father and Educator of Humanity, the absolute living Thought, of whom our world is a ray, and the universe an incarnation.

We believe that the sole manifestation of God visible to us is Life; and in it we seek the evidences of the Divine Law.

II.
Humanity.

We believe in Humanity, the most perfect manifestation of the thought of God upon our earth, as the sole interpreter of the Divine Law.

We believe that God is God, and Humanity is His Prophet.

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III. Revelation.

We believe in Conscience—the revelation of life to the individual, and in Tradition—the revelation of life to humanity—as the sole means given to us by God by which to comprehend His design; and that when the voice of Conscience and the voice of Tradition are harmonised in an affirmation, that affirmation is the Truth, or a portion of the Truth.

IV. Authority.

We believe that whosoever presumes at the present day to arrogate that revelation to himself, and declare that he is the privileged intermediary between God and man, is a blasphemer.

We believe that authority is sacred, when consecrated by genius and virtue—sole priests of the future—and made manifest by the greatest power of sacrifice. Such authority preaches Truth, and is freely accepted by mankind as their guide to Truth; but we believe that we are

bound to combat and exterminate, as the offspring of falsehood and parent of tyranny, every authority not invested with these characteristics.

v.
Progress.

We believe that Conscience and Tradition, if religiously interrogated, will reveal to us that the law of Life is Progress, a revelation vouchsafed to all and continuous.

We believe in the instinct of Progress, innate in Humanity from the beginning, but now become a leading tendency of the human intellect; and that it is in virtue of this revelation that Humanity advances from epoch to epoch, from religion to religion, upon the path of improvement assigned to it.

vi.
Religion.

We believe that the root of every religion is a definition of Life and its mission. Our definition asserts the imperfection of the finite creature and his gradual self-correction, by virtue of a capacity of pro-

GOD AND THE PEOPLE.

gression given to all men through works ; through the sacrifice of the egoistic instincts for the sake of the common improvement ; and through faith in a Divine ideal, which each of us is bound to incarnate in himself.

VII.

Duty.

We believe that as God is one, so is life one, throughout its twofold manifestation, in the individual and in collective humanity.

We believe it to be the duty of each and all to sanctify the earth, by realising *here* as much as it is possible to realise of the law of God. And from this faith we deduce our morality.

VIII.

Individual.

We believe that time and space are vouchsafed to us by God as the sphere of free-will, the condition of human responsibility.

We believe, therefore, in a law of duty for us all ; and that we are bound to love,

THE CREED.

to comprehend, and as far as possible to incarnate, that law in our actions.

We believe in the duty of each and all ceaselessly to combat evil, and to promote good by thought and action.

IX. Social.

(We believe that in order to overcome evil and promote good in each of us, it is necessary to overcome evil and promote good in others and for others.)

We believe that no man can work out his own salvation otherwise than by labouring for the salvation of others.

We believe that the sign of evil is egotism, and the sign of virtue sacrifice.

X. Family.

We believe that the conception of the family is not only human, but Divine, and no human power can extinguish it; like the country—even more than the country—the family is an element of existence.

XI.

Nationality.

We believe not only in progress, but in man's solidarity in progress.

We believe, therefore, in nationality, which is the conscience of the peoples, and which, by assigning to them their part in the work of association, constitutes their mission upon earth—that is to say, their individuality.

XII.

Democracy.

We believe in the people, one and independent, so organised as to harmonise the individual faculties with the social idea, living by the fruits of its own labour, united in seeking after the greatest possible amount of general well-being, and in respect for the rights of individuals.

(We believe that by the Law of God, given by Him to humanity, all men are free, are brothers, and are equals.)

XIII.

Liberty.

We believe in liberty for all that is indispensable to the moral and material

THE CREED.

aliment of life : personal liberty, liberty of locomotion, liberty of faith, liberty of thought and its expression, liberty of the press, liberty of labour and of trade, liberty of association.

xiv. ~
Equality.

We believe in human equality : that is to say, that God has given to all mankind the faculties and powers necessary to the achievement of an equal amount of progress ; we believe that all are both called and elected to achieve this sooner or later, according to their works.

xv.
Fraternity.

We believe in the peoples bound together in brotherhood by a common faith, tradition and idea of Love. We believe in association as the sole method of progress, the principle destined to predominate over all popular institutions, and the pledge of their harmony of action.

GOD AND THE PEOPLE.

XVI.
Labour.

We believe that whosoever is willing to give, for the benefit of the whole, that amount of labour of which he is capable ought to receive such amount of recompense for that labour as will enable him to develop his individual life in each of the essential characteristics by which individual life is defined.

XVII.
Education.

We believe that as life is one, and the law of life is one, the progress destined to be wrought out by collective humanity must be equally wrought out by the individual ; and that it is, therefore, the duty of each man to employ the life given him by God, to preserve it and to develop it.

We believe that, as God has created man susceptible of education, it is our duty to educate ourselves as far as lies in our power, and the duty of the society to which we belong not to impede our education; but assist us in it, and supply

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us with the means thereof when we have it not.

Art and Literature.

We believe that as in collective humanity every presentiment of a vaster and purer ideal, every earnest aspiration towards good, is destined—it may be after the lapse of ages—to be realised ; so in the individual every intuition of the truth, every aspiration towards good and the ideal, is a pledge of future development : a germ to be evolved in the course of the series of existences constituting life.

XIX. Immortality.

• We believe that as the progress destined to be wrought out by humanity cannot be completely realised in the brief terrestrial existence of the individual, it will be fulfilled elsewhere ; and we believe in the continuity of the life made manifest in each of us, and of which our terrestrial existence is but one period.

We believe that pure, virtuous and constant affection is a promise of communion in the future, and a link invisible, but powerful in its effect upon human action—between the dead and the living.

Such, in broad outlines, is our faith. In that faith we recognise God as the Father of all; humanity as one in community of origin, of law, and of aim; the earth as sanctified by the gradual accomplishment of the Divine design, and the individual blessed with immortality and free-will and power, as the responsible artificer of his own progress. In this faith we live; in it we will die; in it we love, labour, hope and pray.

GOD AND THE PEOPLE.

I. God.

"We believe in one God, the Father and Educator of Humanity the absolute living Thought, of whom our world is a ray, and the universe an incarnation."

1. *Few deny God, but few realise the importance of Belief.*

IN our own day few, if any, would venture, if interrogated, to assert that there is no God; but the greater number neither know nor care to know the import and bearing of belief in Him upon our human life, nor realise how solemn and inevitable the series of consequences that follow from the acceptance of that idea. They are willing enough lightly to admit it, on condition of putting it aside to lie idle and unfruitful in some obscure corner of the realm of abstractions.

2. *To prove God exists would seem Blasphemous.*

The attempt to prove [the existence of God] would

seem blasphemous, as the denial appears madness. Humanity has been able to transform, to disfigure, never to suppress His holy name. The undying light of faith in God pierces through all the imposture and corruption wherewith men have darkened His name.

3. *Three Types of Atheists.*

There are, I hope, no atheists among you. Were there any, they would deserve pity rather than malediction. He who can deny God either in the face of a starlight night, when standing beside the tomb of those dearest to him, or in the presence of martyrdom, is either greatly unhappy or greatly guilty. The first atheist was surely one who had concealed some crime from his fellow-men, and who sought by denying God to free himself from the sole witness from whom concealment was impossible, and thus stifle the remorse by which he was tormented. Or perhaps the first atheist was a tyrant, who, having destroyed one-half of the soul of his brethren by depriving them of liberty, endeavoured to substitute the worship of brute force for faith in Duty and eternal Right.

After these, from age to age, there came men here and there, who taught atheism from philosophical aberration; but they were few and ashamed. After these, in days not far removed from our own, came the

many who, from reaction against a false and absurd idea of God created by some Tyranny or Caste, denied God Himself; but it was only for an instant, and even during that instant—so great was the need they felt of Divinity—that even they worshipped a goddess of Reason and a goddess of Nature.

4. *Reaction from a False Creed.*

At the present day there are many men who abhor all religion, because they see the corruption of the actual creeds, and have no conception of the purity of the Religion of the Future; but none of these venture to declare themselves atheists. There do, indeed, exist Priests who prostitute the name of God to the calculations of a venal self-interest, and Tyrants who falsify His name by invoking it in support of their tyranny; but because the light of the sun is often obscured by impure vapours, shall we deny the sun himself, and the vivifying influence of his rays throughout the universe? Because the liberty of the wicked sometimes produces anarchy, shall we curse the name of liberty itself?

5. *Without God, whence is Duty?*

Apart from God, whence can you derive duty? Without God, whatever system you attempt to lean

upon you will find it has no other foundation or basis than force—blind, tyrannical force. Either the development of human beings depends upon a providential law, which we are all bound to seek to discover and apply ; or it is left to chance, to passing circumstance, to ~~that~~ man who contrives best to turn these to account. If there be not one holy, inviolable law, uncreated by man, what rule have we by which to judge whether a given act be just or unjust ? In the name of whom, or of what, shall we protest against inequality or oppression ? Without God, there is no other rule than fact—the accomplished ~~fact~~ ; before which the materialist ever bows his head, whether its name be Bonaparte or Revolution.

6. “ *God wills it !* ”

The cry which has resounded in all great and noble revolutions, the “ *God wills it, God wills it !* ” of the Crusades, will alone have power to rouse the inert to action, to give courage to the timid, the enthusiasm of sacrifice, to the calculating, and faith to those who distrust or reject all merely human ideas. Prove to mankind that the work of progressive development to which you would call them is a part of the design of God, and none will rebel. Prove to them that the earthly duties to be fulfilled here below are an essential

portion of their immortal life, and all the calculations of the present will vanish before the grandeur of the future. •Without God, you may compel, but not persuade; you may become tyrants in your turn; you cannot be educators or apostles.

II. Humanity.

"We believe in Humanity, the most perfect manifestation of the thought of God upon our earth, as the sole interpreter of the Divine Law."

7. *Humanity is as a Man who lives and learns for ever.*

NOW God has placed beside you a being whose life is continuous, whose faculties are the results and sum of all the individual faculties that have existed for perhaps four hundred ages; a being which, in the midst of the errors and crimes of individuals, yet ever advances in wisdom and morality; a being in whose development and progress God has inscribed, and from epoch to epoch does still inscribe, a line of His law.

This being is Humanity.

A thinker of the past century has described Humanity as *a man who lives and learns for ever*. Individuals die; but the amount of truth they have thought, and the sum of good they have done, dies not with them.

The men who pass over their graves reap the benefit thereof, and Humanity garners it up.

Each of us is born to-day in an atmosphere of ideas and beliefs which has been elaborated by all anterior Humanity, and each of us brings with him (even if unconsciously) an element, more or less important, of the life of Humanity to come.

The education of Humanity is built up like those Eastern pyramids, to which every passing traveller added a stone. We pass along, the voyagers of a day, destined to complete our individual education elsewhere; but the education of Humanity, which is seen by glimpses in each of us, is slowly, progressively and continuously evolved through Humanity.

Humanity is the word, living in God. The Spirit of God fecundates it, and manifests itself through it, in greater purity and activity from epoch to epoch; now through the instrumentality of an individual, now through that of a people.

From labour to labour, from belief to belief, Humanity gradually acquires a clearer perception of its own life, of its own mission, of its God, and of His law.

Humanity is the *successive* incarnation of God.

8. *God and the People.*

God, at the summit of the social edifice ; the people, the universality of our brethren, at the base. God, the Father and Educator ; the progressive interpreter of His Law.

No true society can exist without a common belief and a common aim. Religion declares the belief and the aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realisation of that belief, and prepare the means of attaining that aim. Religion represents the principle, politics the application. There is but one sun in Heaven for all the earth.

There is one law for all those who people the earth.

9. *God is God, and the People is His Prophet.*

The sovereign power is in God alone ; and the sign of legitimate power upon earth is the interpretation and fulfilment of His Law. Its born interpreters are those men who are superior to others in genius and virtue, in the spirit of love and of self-sacrifice.

The best judge of their labours is the people. Thrice holy is God ; but the idol, the image, is not holy. Holy is *authority* ; but the phantom of authority is not holy. Holy is the Church ; but not an im-

postor which calls itself the Church. The thesis of Gregory VII. is true—the application was false. Power is one: the law of the Spirit—religion—governs from on high; its interpreters—the temporal powers—reduce it to action. But the law of the Spirit must promote, embrace and direct *all* the manifestations of human progress. Where that power ceases to initiate and guide, there is no religion, but the mask of religion; and to Gregory VII., who sought to substitute the *sign* of an epoch for the *idea*, and to constitute, not the best interpreter as Pope, but the Pope, whoever he might be, as interpreter of the Law, humanity now replies: God is God, and the people is His Prophet.

10. *Man.*

Open the page of history—you will find the pagan man, the feudal man, the man of the seventeenth century, the man of the North, and the man of the South; but high above each of these—all of which are but the representation of a certain degree of intellectual development, and the product of the moral and physical conditions peculiar to a given nation or period—stands the man of all ages and all lands—man, the first-born of nature, the image of God, created for

infinite progress; man, the centre of the universe, viewed in his immortal part, in the fulness of His moral powers; man, neither Italian, English, nor French—the citizen of the vast globe, miniature of all the eternal, universal, invariable laws—Man.

III. Revelation.

"We believe in Conscience—the revelation of life to the individual, and in Tradition—the revelation of life to humanity—as the sole means given to us by God by which to comprehend His design ; and that, when the voice of Conscience and the voice of Tradition are harmonised in an affirmation, that affirmation is the Truth, or a portion of the Truth."

II. *How to arrive at the Knowledge of God's Law.*

YOU live : therefore you have a law of life.

The question which humanity has ever addressed to those who have pronounced the word Deity is, How are we to arrive at the knowledge of this law? And the answers are various even yet.

Some have replied by pointing to a code, a book, saying : *The whole law of morals is comprised in this book.* Others have said : *Let every man interrogate his own conscience ; he will find the definition of good and evil there.* Others, again, rejecting the judgment of the individual, invoke the universal judgment, and declare : *Wheresoever humanity is agreed in a belief, that belief is the truth.*

Each and all of these are in error. And facts, unanswerable in the human race, have proved the impotence of all these answers.

Those who declare that the *whole* moral law is contained in a book, or uttered by one man, forget that there is not a single code of morals which humanity has not abandoned after an acceptance and belief of some centuries, in order to seek after and, diffuse another, more advanced than it; nor is there any special reason for supposing that humanity will alter its course now.

It will be sufficient to remind those who declare the conscience of the individual to be an adequate criterion of the just and true, that no religion, however holy, has existed without heretics—dissenters who dissented from conviction, and were ready to endure martyrdom for their conscience' sake.

The Protestant world is, at the present day, divided and subdivided into a thousand sects; all founded on the rights of individual conscience; and perpetuating that anarchy of beliefs, which is the sole true cause of the social and political disturbances, which torment the peoples of Europe.

And, on the other hand, to those who reject the testimony of individual conscience, and invoke the consent of humanity in their faith—suffice it to say

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that all the great ideas which have contributed to the progress of humanity hitherto, were, at their commencement, *in opposition* to the belief accepted by humanity, and were preached by individuals whom humanity derided, persecuted and crucified.

12. *How to know your Duty.*

God has given you both the consent of your fellow-men and your own conscience, even as two wings wherewith to elevate yourselves towards Him. Why persist in cutting off one of them? Both are sacred. God speaks through each: whensoever they agree, whensoever the cry of your own conscience is ratified by the consent of humanity, God is there. Then are you certain of having found the truth, for the one is the verification of the other. The voice of individual conscience does not suffice, at all times, without any other guide, to make known to us the law. Conscience may teach us that a law exists; it cannot teach us the duties thence derived. How many martyrs have sacrificed their existence for imaginary duties, or for errors patent to us all at the present day?

Conscience, therefore, has need of a guide, of a torch by which to illumine the darkness by which it is surrounded, of a rule by which to direct and verify its instincts. This rule is the intellect of humanity.

[There is] a Being whose life is continuous ; whose faculties are the result and sum of all the individual faculties that have existed for perhaps four hundred ages ; a Being who, in the midst of the errors and crimes of individuals, yet ever advances in wisdom and morality ; in whose development and progress God has inscribed, and from epoch to epoch does still inscribe, a line of His law. This Being is Humanity.

The law of God is one, as God Himself is one ; but we only discover it article by article, line by line ; according to the accumulated experience of the generations that have preceded us, and according to the extension and increased intensity of association, among races, peoples and individuals. No man, no people and no age may pretend to have discovered the whole of the Law. The moral law, the law of the life of humanity, can only be discovered in its entirety by all humanity united in holy association ; when all the forces and all the faculties that constitute our human nature shall be developed and in action.

But meanwhile, that portion of Humanity most advanced in education, does in its progress and development reveal to us a portion of the law we seek to know. Its history teaches us the design of God ; its wants teach us our duties, because our first duty is to aid the ascent of humanity upon that stage of

education and improvement towards which it has been prepared and matured by time and the Divinity.

God, the Father and Educator of humanity, reveals ~~This~~ law to humanity through time and space. [We are to] interrogate the tradition of humanity—which is the Council of our brother men—not in the restricted circle of an age or sect, but in all ages, and in the majority of mankind, past and present. Wheresoever that consent of humanity corresponds with the teachings of your own conscience, you are certain of the Truth; certain, that is, of having read one line of the law of God.

13. *Persistency of an Idea.*

When an idea has descended into and penetrated the hearts of the multitude, enduring for ages and strengthened by the lapse of ages, assuming all the forms and invading all the elements of society; when, far from being crushed, it is only nourished by persecution, and sanctified by martyrdom, it is a sign that that idea is a thought of God. It is a thought of God reflected in humanity, the presage of a new unity.

IV. Authority.

"We believe that authority is sacred, when consecrated by genius and virtue—sole priests of the future—and made manifest by the greatest power of sacrifice. It preaches Truth, and is freely accepted by mankind as their guide to Truth; but we believe that we are bound to combat and exterminate, as the offspring of falsehood and parent of tyranny, every authority not invested with these characteristics."

14. *The Coming Revolution.*

TO any one guided and enlightened by the study of historical tradition, it is enough to glance at the actual condition of Europe, in order to recognise on every side signs identical with those which eighteen centuries ago foreshadowed the dissolution of Paganism, and the inevitable advent of Christianity. The void created by the utter absence of any general, harmonious, civilising initiative in the world, and the consequent moral anarchy; the wars promoted by dynastic or individual interests; the neutralities founded on the indifference of egotism; the peaces built up upon absurd theories of a balance of power, impossible of attainment while limited to

material conditions ; the question of the nationalities dominating every other, and pointing as in those days to a new division of Europe ; the emancipation of the working classes become [as in those days the emancipation of the slaves] a source of universal and potent agitation ; the uprising of the Slavonian race [as in those days of the Teutonic] in search of a national existence henceforth inevitably decreed ; the spread of materialism, the result of an exaggerated negation of the former faith ; the aspiration, revealed on every side, after a new religion ; the insane attempts at an impossible reconciliation of the old and new,—all these and other signs proclaim the coming of a new order of things, founded upon principles radically different from those which presided over the epoch now visibly exhausted and consumed. A new conception of life and of the Divine law by which life is governed, ferments beneath every manifestation of the two faculties of thought and action, which constitute the human unity.

15. • *The Church of the Future.*

I open the Gospel, and I read : “ If ye love Me, keep My commandments, and I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may

abide with you for ever. Even the Spirit of Truth."

"I am the true vine, and My Father is the husbandman. Every branch in Me that beareth not fruit He taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, He purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit."

"I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth: for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak: and He will show you things to come."

And I reflect: the church is struck with blindness, and your intellect, O priests of Jesus! is dead to the consciousness of the true life, if before the power of prophetic intuition contained in these words, before a religious programme which establishes the immense superiority of the faith of Christ over all the traditions of the past, you can find no other words to inscribe upon your banner than the fatal one *resist*.

The conscience of the progressive mission confided to religion—the presentiment of the successive purifications of beliefs—the education given from epoch to epoch by God to the human race, proportionately to the degree of its intellectual and moral development—reverence for the great religious tradition of humanity,

all are in those passages, to which the papal doctrine opposes an impious and absurd theory of immobility. The holy church of the future, the church of the free and equal, the church which shall bless every progress of the Spirit of truth, and identify itself with the life of humanity ; which shall have neither Pope nor laity, but wherein all shall be believers, all priests with different offices, is there foreseen and predicted. And on the transformation of the corrupt aristocratic church of to-day into this renewed popular church of the future, depends—I will not say the solution, that is not in the power of man—but the mode, more or less violent, more or less dangerous, of the solution of the religious question.

Let priests ponder and prepare.

16. *A Free Church in a Free State.*

The moral law, which is a *consequence* of the conception of God ; the sanction of the Law in the future life of the individual ; the duty it imposes upon each of us ; the link it forms between earth and heaven, between action and belief, are things quite indifferent to the men of the present day. They have so parcelled out and dismembered the unity of life ; so utterly lost the ideal defined by Religion, to the external world which should

be its representative and interpreter, that the empty phrase *a Free Church in a Free State* has been hailed and accepted in our own day as a formula of high moral significance.

That formula does, in fact, amount to nothing more than a declaration that our Law is Athéist; that it matters not whether religion be good or evil, false or true; it amounts to a proclamation of progress as the practice, and immobility as the theory; a perennial anarchy between thought and action, a freely-educated intellect, and an enslaved conscience.

17. *The Priests of Truth.*

To aid our search after truth, God has given to us tradition—the voice of anterior humanity—and the voice of our own conscience. Wheresoever these accord, is truth; wheresoever they are opposed, is error. To attain a harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The family, the city, the fatherland and humanity, are but different spheres in which to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice towards this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time He raises up the great in genius, in love,

in thought, or in action, as priests of His truth and guides to the multitude on their way.

18. *The Dead and the Living Church.*

If the church does not advance with the peoples, the peoples must advance without the church, against the church. Against the church! No; we will advance from the church of the past to the church of the future; from the dead to the living church; the church of free men and equals, wherein he shall be first who best has served his brothers; and where the seat of faith needs not to be upheld by force.

19. *Catholicism Dead—Religion Eternal.*

Catholicism is dead. Religion is eternal. It will be the soul, the thought of the new world. Every man has in his own heart an altar, upon which, if he invoke it in earnestness, purity and love, the Spirit of God will descend. Conscience is sacred; it is free. But truth is one, and faith may anticipate the time when, from the free conscience of enlightened men, beneath the 'breath of God,' shall be given forth a religious Harmony, more mighty, more potent in love and life, than any to which humanity has yet lent ear.

10. *A New Religion.*

Remember that Christianity is a revelation and a statement of *principles*, of certain relations of man with that which is beyond himself, which were unknown to Paganism.

Remember that those principles are the same that are inscribed upon the banner of all lovers of liberty. Remember that religions are not changed by men, but by time, progress, and the manifestation of some new principle; and that whosoever attempts to substitute himself for the age and for those causes, is guilty of a foolish and fatal mistake.

Remember, in short, that a religious principle has always presided over two-thirds of the revolutions of single peoples, and all the great revolutions of humanity; and that to desire to abolish it where you have no other to substitute, where there is neither education, nor any profound conviction of general duties, nor a uniform conscience, nor the habit of high social virtue, is the same thing as to create a void, to open an abyss, which you yourselves will be perhaps the first to fill.

Perhaps in religion, as in politics, the age of the *symbol* is passing away, and a solemn manifestation may be approaching of the *idea* as yet hidden in that

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symbol. Perhaps the discovery of a new relation—that of the individual to humanity—may lay the foundation of a new religious bond ; as the relation of the individual with nature was the soul of paganism ; as the relation of the individual with God has been the soul of Christianity. But whatever may be in store for the future, whatever new revelation of our destinies awaits us, it behoves us meanwhile not to forget that Christianity was the first to put forward the word *equality*, parent of liberty—that it was the first to deduce the rights of man from the inviolability of his human nature—that it was the first to open a path to the relationship of the *individual* with *humanity*, containing in its doctrine of human *brotherhood* the germ of a principle, of a law of *Association*.

21. *Christ and the Gospel.*

The martyrdom and word of Christ are not in opposition to our principles. Has not Jesus told us that we are all brothers and children of God ? Did not He come to destroy the castes and inequalities of nature admitted by Paganism ? Did not He say that He died to save, to emancipate us all from the consequences of the first sin ? Did He not teach us that we ought to form on earth one holy unity in God and

in love? Did He not announce that the human family should form but one flock, and should have but one shepherd, the interpreted law of God? Did He not sanction the principle of transmission according to the *spirit*, according to works, as opposed to that of transmission according to the flesh, according to the privilege of caste and of birth? Did He not enjoin upon us that, in the brotherly emulation in good works to which He exhorted His followers, he only should be deemed the first amongst us who knew how to be the last, and how best to devote himself to the common work with an ardent and self-sacrificing zeal? Does not every syllable of the gospel breathe that spirit of liberty, of equality, of war to evil, to injustice and to falsehood, which informs our zeal?

22. *The Sum of the Gospel.*

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

The whole doctrine of the gospel is summed up in this text; the superiority of mind over matter, of the *idea* over the *fact*, of belief over temporal authority, the search after moral perfection over that of material good. And this is also our doctrine—God first, then the people, and the people interpreter of God's law.

Material wealth, as we have said, is an instrument of good, if it is applied to the advantage of all—an instrument of evil, if applied to an egotistical end: it ought to be distributed according to the works and the moral education of men.

23. *Christ came—the Initiator.*

Christ came. The soul the most full of love, the most sacredly virtuous, the most deeply inspired by God and the future, that men have yet seen on earth—Jesus. He bent over the corpse of the dead world, and whispered a word of faith. Over the clay that had lost all of man but the movement and the form, He uttered words until then unknown—*love, sacrifice, a heavenly origin*. And the dead arose. A new life circulated through the clay, which philosophy had tried in vain to reanimate. From that corpse arose the Christian world, the world of liberty and equality. From that clay arose the true man, the image of God, the precursor of Humanity.

Christ expired. All He had asked of mankind wherewith to save them—says Lamennais—was a cross whereon to die. But ere He died He had announced the *glad tidings* to the people. To those who asked of Him from whence He had received it,

He answered: From God, the Father. From the height of His cross He had invoked Him twice. Therefore upon the cross did His victory begin and still does it endure.

Have faith, then, O you who suffer for the noble cause—apostles of a truth which the world of to-day comprehends not—warriors in the sacred fight whom it yet stigmatises with the name of rebels! To-morrow, perhaps, this world, now incredulous or indifferent, will bow down before you in holy enthusiasm. To-morrow victory will bless the banner of your crusade. Walk in faith, and fear not. That which Christ has done, humanity may do. Believe, and you will conquer.

24. *I believe in a New Great Religious Manifestation.*

I believe in a new great religious manifestation, which, while accepting those portions of the truth discovered by anterior religions, shall reveal a new portion, and disclose to us the path of future progress.

25. *The Pantheon of Humanity.*

Hesitating between Catholic despotism and Protestant anarchy—between the limitless authority which annihilated the human being, and the free conscience of

the individual which is powerless to found a social faith—the world both invokes, and foresees the coming of a new and vaster unity; destined to combine in holy harmony the two terms, tradition and conscience; which, though now disjoined, are, none the less, the two wings given to the human soul, wherewith to rise towards truth; a unity which, starting from the foot of the cross, yet embracing all ulterior forms of progress, shall gather together all the various religions into one sole people of believers, and unite all the churches for the building of one vast temple—the Pantheon of Humanity—to God; a unity which from all the various revelations vouchsafed from time to time by God to the human race, shall compose the one eternal progressive revelation of the Creator to His creature.

26. *Presentiment of a New Epoch.*

Whether as a real belief, or an enforced homage the new epoch obtains its due acknowledgment from intellect, almost without exception. We all feel, both in heart and brain, the presentiment of a great epoch; and we have sought to make of the negations and analyses of the eighteenth century, the banner of the faith of that epoch. Inspired by God to utter

the sublime words—*regeneration, progress, new mission, the future*—we yet persist in striving to realise the material triumph of the programme contained in those words, with the instrument that served for the realisation of a mission now concluded.

*27. *Emancipation from the Corpse of Dead Authority.*

The accusation of irreligion, of mere negation of *all* authority, which is cast against Democracy, is unworthy of any who take the trouble to study its most important and most potent manifestations in a spirit of impartiality. We are combating to gain a true Authority for the world; we all desire the termination of this period of crisis, in which one only of the two human criterions of truth—the conscience of humanity, and the conscience of the individual—is left to us. We all demand a common faith, a common pact, an interpreter of God's Law.

The cry for Liberty which bursts forth from the peoples, is in fact a cry for emancipation from the corpse of a dead authority which usurps the place of the new. But before this pact can be indeed religious, and our souls be security for its observance, it must first be freely accepted by our conscience; before this authority can indeed govern and direct

our life, it must have faith in itself, and the world have faith in it; it is necessary that it should be to us a word of unity, of progress, and of the unceasing revelation of the truth.

28. *Galileo.*

Upon a day in the sixteenth century, at Rome, some men bearing the title of *Inquisitors*, who assumed to derive wisdom and authority from God Himself, were assembled to decree the immobility of the earth. A prisoner stood before them. His brow was illumined by genius. He had outstripped time and mankind, and revealed the secret of a world. It was Galileo.

The old man shook his bald and venerable head. His soul revolted against the absurd violence of those who sought to force him to deny the truths revealed to him by God. But his pristine energy was worn down by long suffering and sorrow; the monkish menace crushed him. He strove to submit. He raised his hand, he too, to declare the immobility of the earth. But as he raised his hand, he raised his weary eyes to that heaven they had searched throughout long nights to read thereon one line of the universal law; they encountered a ray of that sun, which he so well knew, motionless amid the

moving spheres. Remorse entered his heart: an involuntary cry burst from the believer's soul: *Eppur si muove!*—and yet it moves!

Three centuries have passed away. Inquisitors, —inquisition,—absurd theses imposed by force,—all these have disappeared. Naught remains but the well-established movement of the earth, and the sublime cry of Galileo floating above the ages.

Child of Humanity, raise thy brow to the sun or God, and read upon the heavens, *It moves*. Faith and action! The future is ours.

29. *You may kill Men, not Ideas.*

When the Roman senate ordained that the "History of Cremutius Cordo" should be burnt, a Roman stood forth, saying: *Cast me also into the flames, for I know that history by heart!* The day will come when Europe will give a like answer to your blind ferocity. You may kill men; you cannot kill a great idea.

30. *Martyrdom.*

Martyrdom is never barren; martyrdom for a great idea is the highest formula the human *Ego* can reach in the accomplishment of a mission; and when a just man rises in the midst of his prostrate fellows, and

proclaims, *This is the truth, and I in dying worship this*, a spirit of new life is diffused over all humanity, because each man reads upon the brow of the martyr a line of his own duty, and learns how great the power given by God to His creature for its fulfilment.

V. Progress.

"We believe that Conscience and Tradition, if religiously interrogated, will reveal to us that the law of Life is Progress, a revelation vouchsafed to all and continuous.

"We believe in the instinct of Progress, innate in Humanity from the beginning, but now become a leading tendency of the human intellect; and that it is in virtue of this revelation that Humanity advances from epoch to epoch, from religion to religion, upon the path of improvement assigned to it."

31. *The Word of God not all Revealed.*

N O, eternal God! Thy Word is not all fulfilled; Thy thought, the thought of the world, not all revealed. That thought creates still, and will continue to create for ages incalculable by man. The ages that have passed have but revealed to us some fragments of it. Our mission is not concluded. As yet we scarcely know its origin, we know not its ultimate aim. Time and discovery do but enlarge its boundaries. It is elevated from age to age towards destinies unknown to us, seeking the law of which as yet we know but the first lines. From initiation to initiation, throughout the series of

Thy successive incarnations, this mission has purified and enlarged the formula of sacrifice; it learns the part it has to follow by the study of an eternally progressive faith. Forms are modified and dissolved, religious beliefs are exhausted: the human spirit leaves them behind as the traveller leaves behind the fires that warmed him through the night, and seeks another sun. But religion remains: the idea is immortal, survives the dead forms, and is re-born from its own ashes. The idea detaches itself from the worn-out symbol; disengages itself from its involucre, which analysis has consumed, and shines forth in purity and brightness, a new star in humanity's heaven. How many such shall faith yet kindle ere the whole path of the future be illumined? Who shall tell how many stars—secular thoughts, liberated from every cloud—shall arise and take their place in the heaven of intellect, ere man, the living summary of the terrestrial Word, may declare, I have faith in myself, my destiny is accomplished?

Such is the law. One labour succeeds another; one synthesis succeeds another; and the latest revealed ever presides over the work we have to accomplish, and prescribes its method and organisation. It comprehends all the terms included in the preceding synthesis, plus the new term; which becomes the aim

of every endeavour, the unknown quantity to be determined, and added to the known.

32. *Progress of Humanity.*

But, meanwhile, that portion of Humanity most advanced in education does in its progress and development reveal to us a portion of the Law we seek to know. Its history teaches us the design of God; its wants teach us our duties, because our first duty is to endeavour to aid the ascent of Humanity upon that stage of education and improvement towards which it has been prepared and matured by time and the Divinity.

33. *Morality Progressive.*

Morality is progressive, as is your education and that of the human race. The morality of Christianity was different from that of Paganism, the morality of our own age differs from the morality of eighteen hundred years ago.

34. *Progress the First Article of the Law.*

We have yet to teach mankind not only that Humanity is one sole being, and must be governed by one sole law, but that the first article of the law is

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Progress;—progress here, on this earth, wherein we are bound to realise, as far as in us lies, the design of God, and educate ourselves for higher destinies.

35. *Historical Development of the Idea of Progress.*

This word of Progress, unknown to antiquity, is destined henceforth to be a sacred word to Humanity. In it is included an entire, social, political and religious transformation.

The ancients, the men of the old Oriental and Pagan religions, believed in fate, in chance, in a hidden, incomprehensible power, the arbitrator of human things; a Power alternately creator and destroyer, the action of which man was neither able to understand, accelerate nor promote. They believed man to be incapable of founding any stable or permanent work on earth. They believed that nations—destined to move for ever in a circle similar to that described by individuals here below—arose, became powerful, and sank in decay, doomed infallibly to perish.

With a mental horizon thus restricted and destitute of all historical knowledge, save that of their own nation, or it might be of their own city, they regarded the human race as a mere aggregate of men, without any general collective life or law, and based their

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ideas solely upon the contemplation of the individual. The natural consequence of such a doctrine was a *disposition to accept all dominant and ruling facts*, without hoping or endeavouring to modify them. Where circumstances had produced a republican form of government, the men of that day were republicans ; where despotism existed, they were its submissive slaves, indifferent to progress. And both under the republican and tyrannic governments the human family was everywhere divided, either into four castes, as in the East, or into two (the free citizens and the slaves), as in Greece. This division into castes, and the doctrine of the two natures of men, were accepted by all, even by the most powerful intellects of the Greek world, Plato and Aristotle. The emancipation of your class would have been an impossibility among such men as these.

The men who, with the word of Christ upon their lips, founded a religion superior to Paganism, or the religions of the East, had but *dimly foreseen, not grasped or assimilated*, the sacred *idea* contained in this word *Progress*. They understood the idea of the unity of the human race, and the unity of the Law ; they understood the idea of the perfectibility of man :

but they did not comprehend that God has given man the power of realising it by his *own* efforts, nor the mode by which it has to be achieved.

Believing Revelation to have been immediate and *unique* at a given period, they thence deduced the impossibility of all addition thereunto, and the consequent infallibility of its depositaries. They forgot that the Founder of their religion had come, not to destroy the law, but to add to and continue it; they forgot the solemn occasion when, with a sublime intuition of the Future, Jesus declared that "He had many things yet to say, but men could not bear them then; but that after Him would come the Spirit of Truth, who should speak not of Himself, but whatsoever He should hear, that He should speak" (St. John xvi. 7, 12, 13, 25, *et passim*); words prophetic of the idea of Progress, of collective inspiration, and of the continuous Revelation of the Truth through the medium of Humanity.

The whole edifice of the faith that succeeded Paganism is founded on the bases I have described. It is clear that your earthly emancipation cannot be founded upon these bases alone.

Thirteen hundred years after the above sublime

words of Jesus were spoken, a man, an Italian, the greatest of Italians, wrote the following truths:—

“God is One. The Universe is a Thought of God ; the Universe, therefore, is also One. All things spring from God ; all things participate in the Divine nature, more or less, according to the end for which they are created. Man is the noblest of created things. God has given to man more of His own nature than to the others. Everything that springs from God tends towards that amount of perfectibility of which it is susceptible. The capacity of perfectibility is indefinite in man. Humanity is One. God has created no useless thing. Humanity exists ; hence there must be a single aim for *all* men, a work to be achieved, by all. The human race must therefore work in unity, so that all the intellectual forces diffused among men may obtain the highest possible development in the sphere of thought and action. There exists therefore one Universal Religion for the human race.”

The man who wrote these words was called Dante. Every city of Italy, when Italy shall be free, is bound to raise a monument to his memory, for these ideas contain the germ of the Religion of the Future. He wrote thus in Latin and in Italian, in two books, entitled “De Monarchia” and “Il Convito,” works

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difficult of comprehension, and neglected at the present day even by the literary men of his own country. But ideas, once sown in the intellectual world, never die. Others reap and gather them up, even while forgetting whence they sprang. All men admire the oak, but who thinks of the acorn from which it grew? The germ planted by Dante struck root, was fecundated from time to time by some powerful intellect, and the tree bore fruit towards the close of the last century. The idea of Progress, as the Law of life, accepted, developed and verified by History, and confirmed by Science, became the banner of the Future. At the present day there is no earnest thinker with whom it is not the cardinal point of his labour and endeavour.

36. *The Historical Equation of Humanity.*

I looked upon the long series of epochs throughout the course of which the progress of humanity is gradually evolved, as an equation containing many unknown quantities, and saw that every epoch disengages one of these quantities in order—to use the expression of the algebraist—to transfer it to the number of known quantities contained in the other member of the equation.

The unknown quantity of the Christian epoch,

concluded by the French Revolution, I believed (for reasons which I may perhaps develop in another volume) to be Individuality.

The unknown quantity of the new epoch was collective humanity, and hence I deduced the duty of association.

The school in which the equation was to be solved, was Europe: therefore the political organisation of Europe must of necessity precede every other. And this organisation could only be effected by the peoples, freely united in a common faith, and believing in a common aim; each of them assuming a definite task and special mission for the accomplishment of that aim. It would be necessary to form a new European Charter before any real advance could take place, before Europe could recognise a new synthesis, and consecrate to its realisation the forces now consumed in internecine strife.

It is therefore necessary to act rather than discuss: what we have to do is to achieve the material expression of our rights, to translate into earthly action the divine idea. Now, the term which has been intellectually reached by an epoch cannot be realised in action by those who remain pent up and confined within the boundaries of that epoch. It is only by fixing our eyes upon the future epoch, by proposing to human

activity a new term of progress as the goal, that we can reach the practical application of the term which gave life to the epoch immediately anterior. As liberty can only be practically realised and achieved through the intellectual conquest of equality; so equality can only be practically realised and achieved in the *social* epoch — that is to say, through the association of all in a common aim.

Were it not for this condition of the law which directs the generations,—in virtue of which the necessity of reducing to action the aim of the actual epoch becomes the instrument for the discovery of the new aim,—the continuity of progress would be interrupted. If mankind were able to achieve alike the discovery, development and practical application of a given term in a single epoch, it is probable they would never feel the need to overstep the boundaries of that epoch and advance beyond it.

It is then our duty to study the whole problem before us; to elevate ourselves to the height of the European question; to endeavour to lead the peoples onward to lands yet unexplored; to teach them their general mission, its duties, and the consequence it involves; to say to them, this is the general aim, the purpose to be achieved. True, it can only be realised through the labours of all; but each of the peoples is

able to begin the great work ; and the first among you to give the signal by commencing the common duty will become the *initiator-people* of the epoch, and be hailed throughout long ages by mankind as glorious and beloved.

37. *The Mother Ideas of Epochs.*

Liberty was Greece and Rome : Equality is Christianity. It is true that Greece and Rome only organised the liberty of a few ; but as an abstract conception, we received it perfect from their hands, and we are all of us the sons of that world, the germ of which was brought by Greece from the heights of the Caucasus.

And after Jesus had come amongst us to bequeath from the Cross the word of equality to mankind, was there not a monk of Wurtemberg who transmitted it, a formula in the sphere of intellect ? Did not a council, bearing the name *Convention*, meet together two centuries later, and, summing up the work of Greece and Rome, and the word of Christ, solemnly decree *emancipation* amid the applause of Europe ? From the days of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, liberty and equality have been elements of human nature. Such is the law. One labour succeeds another ; one synthesis succeeds another ; and the latest revealed ever presides over the work we

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have to accomplish, and prescribes its method and organisation. It comprehends all the terms included in the preceding synthesis, plus the new term; which becomes the aim of every endeavour, the unknown quantity to be determined and added to the known.

The thought of one epoch is only verified in the sphere of *action*, when the human *intellect* is already absorbed in the contemplation of the thought of its successor. Were it not so, the connection and coherence of the epochs would be interrupted, and a solution of continuity would take place.

Great historical epochs do not date from the existence of a law, a truth, or a principle; but from the time of their promulgation. Were it not so, it would be idle to speak of distant epochs or syntheses: truth is one, and eternal; and the thought of God, in which was the germ of the world, contained them all.

Equality existed as a principle long before Jesus, and the world was unconsciously tending towards it. Why, then, admit the existence of a Christian epoch?

The earth described its revolutions round the sun without awaiting the revelations of Copernicus and Galileo, or the Newtonian formulæ. Why, then, do we make distinct astronomical epochs of the systems of Ptolemy and Newton?

38. *Every Epoch has a Faith of its own.*

Truth is one, and governs every manifestation of life. Every stage of the education of humanity or of a single nation, is presided over and directed by a social thought, expressing and representing the degree of progress in course of achievement.

Religion, art, politics and industry, all express and promote this thought, in methods varying according to their special mission, and the elements over which their influence extends.

39. *The Office of the Historian.*

To embrace an entire subject in its complete spiritual unity, from an elevated point of view, indicated by the intellect and approved by the conscience; to study it in its relation to universal tradition, in order to assign to it its fitting rank therein, and mark its degree upon the scale of social progress; to derive from these the true character and importance of every act, and estimate the morality of the agent; to reproduce material facts with exactitude and impartiality, yet in such wise as to guide the reader to their generating idea,—such is the office of the historians. But in order to fulfil this, a true conception of Humanity is required.

Shall the life of past generations bequeath us no better legacy than an emotion of mournful pity? Is there no immortality on earth as well as in heaven? Do not the past generations live again in us through the lesson they have transmitted to us beyond the tomb? And is it not the special mission of the historian to penetrate and perpetuate this teaching? Is he not the executor of their last will, the angel of their second life here below? Is he not called upon to immortalise it in that grand pantheon of Humanity to which each passing generation of mankind contributes a stone?

The true historian—Janus of art—wanders among the ruins of the past, with thoughts fixed on the future. His works determine the links of continuity between that which has been and that which is to be. His is a great and holy mission; can he accomplish it by merely teaching us to mourn?

Is not the historian, to a certain extent, *compelled* to proceed from the theory of causes to that of purposes or *aims*? Can any cause of action exist without generating action? Does not all action necessarily suppose an aim to be reached? Is not the attempt to reach this aim alike the cause and the secret of the development of a *fact*? How, then, can a fact be rightly viewed and narrated, otherwise than from an

eminence dominating alike the cause, the fact, and the aim ?

The cause and the aim are the two extreme points or limits between which the action of every historic work must be comprised. They are the two elements, the right determination of which constitutes the law. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the historian should comprehend the law governing the fact, before he can present it to us in its true light ; necessary that he should understand the law of the generation of facts before he can arrange them in their true order for the reader.

I do not mean to say that the historian is bound to expound to us his philosophy of history, but I do mean that he is bound to possess one for his own guidance, and that every history should contain and exemplify the general outlines of that philosophy, just as every number contains its own root.

40. *The Progressive School of Historians.*

It dates its origin from a new conception of Humanity, and a belief in a providential law of progress and perfectibility, not *infinite* but *indefinite*, ruling over our human destiny. It deduces that belief from the tendency to association innate in man ; from the unity of origin of the human race ; from its ceaseless con-

tinuity and preservation ; from the successive amplification and amelioration of social creeds ; from the identity of human goal, and the necessity of concentrating the whole sum of human forces to its achievement ; from the unity of God and of His nature, so far as it has been vouchsafed to us to discover it ; from the necessity of a certain relation and resemblance between the Creator and the created ; from the instinct and necessity which, as if it were a law of existence, urges every living being to the fuller development of all the germs, the faculties, the forces, the *life* within it ; from tradition, which proves to us that the truths achieved by one generation become the indestructible possession of those that succeed it ; from that aspiration, common to all of us, which has laid the foundation of all forms of religion, and made known to individuals the *duty* of self-sacrifice for aims impossible of realisation within the limits of earthly existence.

The followers of this school study all things with a view to discover their mission, function and scope in relation to the collective human being. They view the various peoples as workmen, so to speak, in the great workshop of Humanity, as instruments of labour which, even though they may decay or vanish when their task is done, yet leave behind results fruitful to the entire

species. This theory affords a *criterion* of judgment by which to determine the character of all events in time and space, to place the actions of individuals in a true and useful light, and to dispense praise or blame according to motives.

41. *Initiation of Ideas in the Development of Europe.*

The initiative of ideas, the moral and intellectual initiative—that which adds a new element to the powers of civilisation, or changes the general point of view of the labours of Humanity; the initiative exercised by the discovery of the New World, by the invention of the press, by that of gunpowder, or by the application of steam; the political initiative which leads to a social transformation, to the emancipation of an enslaved class, to the study of a new form of organisation—has never been appropriated by any single nation: by France less than by any other. Like the flaming torches, the *lampada vitæ*, which were passed from hand to hand in the sacerdotal ceremonies of ancient Rome, this initiative has passed from one nation to another, consecrating each and all missionaries and prophets of Humanity. Were they not all destined hereafter to become brothers, fellow-labourers, equals, each according to his especial capa-

bilities, in the great common workshop of Humanity, towards a common end,—collective perfectionment, the discovery and progressive application of the law of life ?

42. *The Ideas of Different Epochs and Nations.*

Thus the idea of the divine Omnipotence sprang from the old Eastern world ; human individuality from the pagan Greco-Roman world, and more lately, from the forests of old Germany ; the idea of the equality of souls from the doctrine preached at Jerusalem ; the idea of the democratic constitution of the city from the Tuscan and Lombard republics ; of commercial association from Bremen and the Hanseatic towns ; the colonising idea from England ; the sacredness of human conscience from Germany ; the preconsciousness of the unity of Europe, and of the world, twice from Rome ; art from Greece and Italy ; philosophy from all.

43. *Special Work of France.*

If there is anything in this sunlike movement of the human mind which especially characterises France, it is not the *initiation*, it is rather the *popularisation* of ideas. French intelligence creates little, it assimilates

much. It is essentially constructive ; the raw material comes to it from elsewhere. Supple, pliant, active, full of self-confidence, instinctively monopolising, and aided by a language clear, facile and fitted for all conversational requisites, the French mind seizes upon ideas already put forth, but too often neglected elsewhere : it fashions, ornaments, appropriates them, and throws them into circulation ; often facilitating that circulation by parcelling out the idea, by dividing it into fragments, as we multiply our small coinage for the benefit of the greater number. Its life, its utility is there ; and it fulfils this special function which would seem to have been assigned to it with an *aplomb de maître* and a confidence which insure success.

44. *The French Revolution not a Programme, but a Résumé.*

The great French Revolution was not, philosophically speaking, a *programme* ; it was a *résumé*. It did not initiate, it closed an epoch. It did not come to bestow a new idea upon the world, to discover the *unknown quantity* of the problem of a new era : it came to place upon a practical ground, in the sphere of the political organisation of society, a formula comprehend-

ing all the conquests of twenty-four centuries, all the great ideas morally elaborated by two historical worlds—the Pagan and the Christian—of which, if I may allow myself the expression, it has summed up the balance. It took from the pagan world its declaration of liberty of the sovereign *Ego*; from the Christian world its declaration of equality—that is to say, of liberty for all as the logical consequence of the unity of nature in the human race: hence also it derived its motto of fraternity, the consequence of the Christian formula, *All men are the sons of God*; and it proclaimed—and herein consists its merit towards Europe—that all this ought to be realised here below. Further than this it did not go.

The French Revolution must no longer be regarded as a programme of the future, but as a summing up of the past; not as the initiation of a new epoch, but as the ultimate formula of an epoch at its close.

The liberal press, with scarcely an exception, disseminated the idea—disgraceful, to those who taught, fatal to those who accept it—that to France alone belonged of right the European initiative; that Paris was the sole fulcrum of the revolutionary lever. The peoples were taught to await the signal both of revolution and of progress from France. Falsely taking the

French Revolution for a programme, when it was but a gigantic consequence, they have persisted in seeking the secret of life amid the ashes of the dead, and continued to inscribe upon the banner, which they declared to be the banner of the future, a formula already achieved for ever by the past epoch of individuality—the formula of rights—instead of the formula of the dawning epoch of association—the formula of duty.

The organ and revealer of the human Word was necessarily the individual. The organ and revealer of the humanitarian Word will necessarily be a people.

The duty of the leaders and teachers of the peoples, therefore, is to instruct them in these ideas, to educate them to this aim. They should be taught to look before them for the initiative, not behind them. It can no longer be found in a theory of rights, nor in the words liberty and equality, which are but the expression of the double aspect, subjective and relative, of the life of the individual; nor in the word fraternity, which is but the expression of a fact, not the declaration of a principle; which unites, but does not associate; connects the two previous terms without directing their activity towards the acquisition of a third, and sanctifies the present without creating the future.

The initiative is, in Humanity, a new conception, containing a programme unknown to our fathers; in Humanity, having progress for its method, even as progress has for its method association. Herein lies the religion of the future. Slumber not in the tents of your fathers. The world is advancing. Advance with it. The sovereignty belongs not to the past; seek it in the future.

The progress of the peoples depends upon their emancipation from France. The progress of France depends upon her emancipating herself from the eighteenth century and the Revolution.

45. *Individuality—Rights of Man.*

As in every great summing up of the progress of the past, we can detect the germ of that of the future, the Revolution was marked by many aspirations towards the idea of association, of a common aim, of a collective solidarity, of a religious transformation, the dominating idea of the present time,—but in its official acts, in the *ensemble* of its march, in its most characteristic manifestations, it has never gone beyond the point of progress already (intellectually) reached, *the emancipation of individuality*. This is why, after having embodied its idea in a *Declaration of the Rights of man*, of the individual, it was only capable of ending

in a *man*—in Napoleon. *Right*, that is to say, the individual asserting himself, was its life, its soul, its strength.

France reduced the results of the Christian Epoch to a formula with the Declaration of the Rights of Man ; elevating into a political dogma and placing beyond all doubt the liberty conquered—in the intellectual sphere—by the Greco-Roman world ; the equality achieved—in the intellectual sphere—by the Christian world, and the fraternity which is the immediate consequence of these two terms, but which must not be confounded with association, of which it is, so to speak, the primitive material or basis. It is necessary to teach the peoples that the epoch of individuality having reached its highest expression and theoretical application in every branch of human knowledge ; its spirit having been made manifest in religion, philosophy, morals, literature and political economy ; a new sun is now rising upon our horizon, another aim begins to be revealed—this aim is the social epoch, and its programme is God and Humanity.

46. *Right to Individual Well-being.*

The eighteenth century, too generally regarded as an age of mere scepticism and negation, devoted solely to

a labour of criticism, had yet a faith of its own, a mission of its own, and a practical method for the realisation of that mission. Its faith was a Titanic, limitless belief in human power, and in human liberty. Its mission was to take stock—if I may be allowed the expression—of the first epoch of the European world; to sum up, and reduce to a concrete formula, that which eighteen centuries of Christianity had examined, evolved and achieved; to constitute the individual such as he was destined and designed to be—free, sacred and inviolable. And this mission it accomplished through the French Revolution, which was the political translation of the Protestant revolution; a manifestation eminently religious, whatever may be said by those superficial writers who judge a whole period by the errors of individuals, secondary actors in the great drama. The instrument adopted to work out the revolution, and reach the aim it was its mission to achieve, was the idea of right. From the theory of right it derived its power, its mandate, the legitimacy of its acts. The declaration of the rights of man is the supreme and ultimate formula of the French Revolution.

47. *The Ecce Homo of France and of Christianity.*

France has, by her Revolution, borne witness in the civil world to the truths taught in the moral world by Christianity. She has also said, Behold the man, *Ecce Homo*. She has laid down the principle of human individuality in the plenitude of its liberty in face of her enemies; and she has overthrown them all. She has done, politically, the work of Luther: herein is her glory and her strength. But she has not given to mankind the Word of the future, the aim of the individual upon earth; she has not indicated the work to be accomplished, of which liberty is only a necessary premiss—the new definition of Life which is to be the starting-point of an epoch.

48. *Liberty, Fraternity, Equality.*

Her great formula which the imitative mind of democracy has rendered European—*liberty, equality, fraternity*—is only a historical formula, indicating the stages of progress already attained by the human mind. Now, every philosophical and social formula ought—if it pretend to give a new initiative to the nations—to contain an indication of the law to be followed and of its *necessary* interpreter. The formula which the Italian

Revolution inscribed upon the republican banner at Rome and Venice, God and the People, is more advanced and more complete than that of the French Republicans.

'49. *The Reformation Idea.*

It is a mistake to judge the work of moral emancipation achieved by the Reformation by the incident of that protest against the Diet of Spire, which gave rise to the word Protestantism. Protestantism was not, as neo-Christians affirm, a work of negation or of criticism with regard to the epoch; it was a positive Christian production, a solemn manifestation of the individual man—sole object and aim of Christianity.

50. *Great Ideas create Great Peoples.*

Politics merely accept man as he is, in his actual position and character; define his tendencies, and regulate his action in harmony with them: the religious idea alone has power to transform both.

Great ideas create great peoples. Let your life be the living summary of one sole organic idea. Enlarge the horizon of the peoples—liberate their conscience from the materialism by which it is weighed down. Set a vast mission before them. Rebaptise them.

Material interests when offended do but produce émeutes : principles alone can generate revolutions. The question now agitating the world is a religious question.

51. *Policy of the Nineteenth Century.*

Our present duty is to found the policy of the nineteenth century ; to re-ascend, through philosophy, to faith ; to define and organise association ; to proclaim humanity ; to initiate a new epoch. Upon that initiation does the material realisation of the past epoch depend.

Upon the soil rendered fruitful by the blood of fifty generations of martyrs, we stand with Lessing to hail the gigantic future, wherein the lever of action shall rest upon the Fatherland as its fulcrum, with Humanity for its scope and aim ; wherein the peoples shall bind themselves in a common pact, and meet in brotherhood to define the future mission of each, the function of each in the general association, governed by one Law for all, one God for all.

52. *Characteristics of English Progress.*

In England, a country wherein a long education in liberty has generated a high sense of individual dignity

and respect for individuality, friendships are slow and difficult to make ; but they are more sincere and durable than elsewhere, and individuals in England possess more of that unity of thought and action which is the pledge of all true greatness. A certain exclusively analytical tendency, inborn in the Anglo-Saxon and strengthened by Protestantism, renders Englishmen suspicious of every new and fruitful synthesis, and retards the advance of the nation upon the path of philosophical and social progress ; but in virtue of that unity of life of which I have spoken, every advance once achieved is achieved for ever ; every idea once decisively accepted by the intellect is certain to be soon reduced to action ; and every opinion, even when not accepted, is received with respectful toleration, when the actions of those who profess it attest their sincerity.

VI. Religion and Life.

"We believe that the root of every religion is a definition of Life and its mission. Our definition asserts the imperfection of the finite creature and his gradual self-correction, by virtue of a capacity of progression given to all men through works; through the sacrifice of the egoistic instincts for the sake of the common improvement; and through faith in a Divine ideal, which each of us is bound to incarnate in himself."

53. *How is Life to be defined?*

THIS principle of education can only be in a *definition of human life*. Is life a sensation, a succession of sensations? or is it a finite manifestation of the eternal Idea, developing itself progressively through temporary forms? Is it a simple *fact*, without antecedents or consequences? or is it a *duty* to be fulfilled? Is it the search for happiness here below? or is it the accomplishment of a mission—the search for, and successive realisation of, the ideal; of the Divine thought which presided at our birth, at the birth of those millions of worlds that roll harmoniously around us, and are destined to form a concord, of which we shall gradually learn another and another note as

we advance? Will you say to these young men, will you say to your children—"Calculate pleasures and pains"? or will you repeat to them that beautiful saying of one of our party*: "*There is but one sole virtue in the world, the eternal sacrifice of self*"? Will you intrust their young spirits to the barren, godless formula of interest? or will you comment for them that great saying of Jesus: "*Let him who would be the first among you make himself the servant of all*"?

Man must not be taught to enjoy, but rather to suffer for others; to combat for the salvation of the world. It must not be said to him, *Enjoy: life is the right to happiness*; but rather, *Work: life is a duty, do good without thinking of the consequences to yourself*. He must not be taught, *To each according to his wants*, or *To each according to his passions*; but rather, *To each according to his love*. To invent formulæ and organisations, and neglect the internal man, is to desire to substitute the frame for the picture. Say to men, *Come, suffer; you will hunger and thirst; you will perhaps be deceived, be betrayed, cursed; but you have a great duty to accomplish*; they will be deaf perhaps for a long time to the severe voice of virtue; but on the day that they do come to

you, they will come as heroes, and will be invincible. Say to them, *Arise, come and enjoy; the banquet of life awaits you; overthrow those who would prevent you from entering*: you will make egotists who would desert you at the first musket-shot, such as those who, the day after having cried *Vive la République*, vote for Louis Napoleon, if he but makes them tremble, or if he promises them to mingle a few grains of socialism with his despotism.

54. *Definitions of Life.*

I set myself to re-examine—now that I was able to do so calmly—both myself and surrounding things. I rebuilt my entire edifice of moral philosophy. In fact, the great question of a true or false conception and definition of life dominated all the secondary questions which had roused that hurricane of doubts and terrors, as the conception and definition of life is—whether recognised or not—the primary basis of all philosophy.

India.—The ancient religion of India had defined life as *contemplation*; and hence the inertia, the immobility, and submerging of self in God, of the Arian families.

Christianity.—Christianity had defined life as *expiation*; and hence earthly sorrows were regarded as

trials to be endured with resignation, even with gladness, and without any duty of struggling against them. Hence the earth was viewed as an abode of suffering, and the emancipation of the soul was to be achieved through indifference and contempt for earthly things.

Eighteenth Century. — The materialism of the eighteenth century had gone back two thousand years to repeat the pagan definition of life as a search after happiness; and hence the spirit of egotism it instilled into the souls of men under various disguises; hence the hateful spectacle of whole classes rising to do battle in the name of the happiness of all men, only to withdraw from the struggle and abandon their allies as soon as they had achieved their own; hence the instability and inconstancy of the most generous impulses, the sudden desertions whenever suffering overbalanced hope, and the sudden discouragement caused by the first adversity; hence the setting up of material interests above principles, and the many other evil results of that false theory which still endure.

• 55. • *Life a Mission.*

Life is a mission: duty, therefore, its highest law. In the comprehension of that mission, and fulfilment of that duty, lie our means of future progress, the

secret of the stage of existence into which we shall be initiated at the conclusion of this earthly stage.

I came to my better self alone, without aid from others, through the help of a religious conception, which I verified by history. From the idea of God, I descended to the conception of progress; from the conception of progress to a true conception of life; to faith in a mission and its logical consequence—duty, the supreme rule of life; and having reached that faith, I swore to myself that nothing in this world should again make me doubt or forsake it. It was, as Dante says, passing through martyrdom to peace—a “forced and despairing peace,” I do not deny—for I fraternised with sorrow, and enwrapped myself in it as in a mantle; but yet it was peace, for I learned to suffer without rebellion, and to live calmly, and in harmony with my own spirit. I bade a long sad farewell to all individual hopes for me on earth. I dug with my own hands the grave, not of my affections,—God is my witness that now, grey-headed, I feel them yet, as in the days of my earliest youth,—but to all the desires, exigencies and ineffable comforts of affection; and I covered the earth over that grave, so that none might ever know the *Ego* buried beneath. From reasons—some of them apparent, some of them unknown—my life was, is, and, were it not near the

end, would remain unhappy ; but never since that time have I for an instant allowed myself to think that my own unhappiness could in any way influence my actions. I reverently bless God the Father for what consolations of affection—I can conceive of no other—He has vouchsafed to me in my later years ; and in them I gather strength to struggle with the occasional return^s of weariness of existence. But even were these consolations denied me, I believe I should still be what I am. Whether the sun shine with the serene splendour of an Italian morn, or the leaden corpse-like hue of the northern mist be above us, I cannot see that it changes our duty. God dwells above the earthly heaven, and the holy stars of faith and the future still shine within our own souls, even though their light consume itself unreflected as the sepulchral lamp.

Life is a mission. Every other definition of life is false, and leads all who accept it astray. Religion, science, philosophy, though still at variance upon many points, all agree in this, that every existence is an aim. Were it not so, of what avail were the movement, the Progress, which all are beginning to recognise as the Law of life ?

And that aim is one : to develop and bring into action all the faculties which constitute and lie dormant

in human nature—*Humanity*,—and cause them harmoniously to combine towards the discovery and application of that law.

56. *Men have Secondary Aims.*

But individuals—according to the time and space in which they live—have various *secondary aims*, all under the direction of, and governed by, ~~that~~ one supreme and permanent aim; and all tending to the constant further development and association of the collective faculties and forces. For one man, this secondary aim may be to aid in the moral and intellectual improvement of the few immediately around him; for another, gifted with superior faculties, or placed in more favourable circumstances, the secondary aim is to promote the formation of a Nationality; to reform the social condition of a people; to solve a political or religious question.

Our own Dante understood this, when, more than five centuries ago, he spoke of the *great Sea of Being* upon which all existences were led by power Divine towards *different ports*.

57. *True Religion will work Social Transformation.*

The first real, earnest religious Faith that shall arise upon the ruins of the old worn-out creeds, will

transform the whole of our actual social organisation, because every strong and earnest faith tends to apply itself to every branch of human activity; because in every epoch of its existence the *earth* has ever tended to conform itself to the Heaven in which it then believed; and because the whole history of Humanity is but the repetition—in form and degree varying according to the diversity of the times—of the words of the Dominical Christian Prayer: *Thy Kingdom come on Earth as it is in Heaven.*

Thy Kingdom come on Earth as it is in Heaven. Let these words—better understood and better applied than in the past—be the utterance of your faith, your prayer, O my brothers! Repeat them, and strive to fulfil them.

Politics merely accept man as he is, in his actual position and character; define his tendencies, and regulate his action in harmony with them. The religious idea alone has power to transform them.

58. *Venerate the Ideal.*

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the word of God.

High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in

which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought, and in the dignity of our immortal soul ; and the baptism of this fraternity is martyrdom.

From that high sphere spring the *principles* which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity, are arms common alike to the people and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these to-day, you would fall again to-morrow ; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose to them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Respect, above all things, your conscience ; have upon your lips the truth, implanted by God in your hearts, and, while labouring in harmony—even with those who differ from you—in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect, and boldly promulgate your own faith.

59. *The Function of Religion.*

Humanity only exists in the consciousness of its origin and the presentiment of its destiny ; and only

reveals itself by concentrating its powers upon some one of the intermediate points between these two. Now, this is precisely the function of the religious idea. That idea constitutes a faith in an origin common to us all ; sets before us, as a principle, a common future ; unites all the active faculties in one sole centre, whence they are continuously evolved and developed in the direction of that future, and guides the latent forces of the human mind towards it. It lays hold of life in its every aspect, and in its slightest manifestations ; utters its augury over the cradle and the tomb, and affords—philosophically speaking—at once the highest and the most universal formula of a given epoch of civilisation ; the most simple and comprehensive expression of its *Knowledge*.

Viewed with regard to the individual, the religious conception is the sign of the relation existing between him and the epoch to which he belongs ; the revelation of his function and rule of life ; the device beneath which he fulfils it. That conception elevates and purifies the individual and destroys egotism within him by transporting the centre of activity from the inward to the outward. It has created for man that theory of *duty* which is the parent of sacrifice ; which has inspired, and ever will inspire, him to high and holy things ; the sublime theory which brings man nearer

to God, lends to the human creature a spark of omnipotence, overleaps every obstacle, and converts the scaffold of the martyr into a ladder of triumph.

60. *The Problem of One's Own Life.*

Life is immortal; but the method and time of evolution through which it progresses is in our own hands. Each of us is bound to purify his own soul as a temple; to free it from egotism; to set before himself—with a religious sense of the importance of the study—the problem of his own life; to search out what is the most striking, the most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded; then interrogate his own faculties and capacity, and resolutely and unceasingly apply them to the satisfaction of that need. And that examination is not to be undertaken in a spirit of mere analysis, which is incapable of revealing life, and is ever impotent save when assisting or subserving some ruling synthesis; but by hearkening to the voice of his own heart, concentrating *all* the faculties of his mind to bear upon the point,—by the intuition, in short, of a loving soul, fully impressed with the solemnity of life. Young brothers, when once you have conceived and determined your mission within your soul, let naught arrest your steps. Fulfil

it with all your strength; fulfil it, whether blessed by love or visited by hate; whether strengthened by association with others, or in the sad solitude that almost always surrounds the martyrs of thought.

61. *A Pregnant Maxim.*

There is a precept of Kant's which appears to me admirably to define the moral mission of young Europe : *Act in such wise that every maxim of your own Will may obtain the force of a principle of general legislation.* The whole history of the world is the history of the struggle between the forces of individual will and the supreme law of humanity ; even as the agreement and identification of these two principles is the secret of the world's destiny.

62. *Is Life "a Tale told by an Idiot" ?*

Can we adore God whilst despising His creature ? Can we love Him whilst knowing of Him only His power ? How, then, does He manifest Himself in this world of ours (which also is His thought), if all be error, doubt and darkness ? Has life been given to us as—

"A tale . . .
Told by an idiot, . . .
Signifying nothing" ?

or as a mission of useful works, of progressive perfectibility, to be discharged, as the means of approximation to God Himself? Would God have placed us here below had we not been designed to achieve something in this world—in a word, to act?

VII. Duties and Rights.

"We believe, therefore, in a law of duty for all of us ; and that we are bound to love, to comprehend, and as far as possible to incarnate, that law in our actions."

63. *Definition of Duty.*

DUTY consists of that love of God and man which renders the life of the individual the representation and expression of *all* that he believes to be the truth, absolute or relative. Duty is progressive, as the evolution of the truth ; it is modified, and enlarges with the ages ; it changes its manifestations according to the requirement of times and circumstances. There are times in which we must be able to die like Socrates ; there are others, in which we must be able to struggle like Washington : one period claims the pen of the sage, another requires the sword of the hero. But ever, and everywhere, the source of this Duty is God and His law : its object, Humanity ; its guarantee, the mutual responsibility of men ; its measure, the intellect of the individual and the demands of the period ; its limit, power.

64. *Rights exist as Consequences of Duties done.*

The theory of Rights may suffice to arouse men to overthrow the obstacles placed in their path by tyranny, but it is impotent where the object in view is to create a noble and powerful harmony between the various elements of which the Nation is composed. With the theory of happiness, as the primary aim of existence, we shall only produce egotists who will carry the old passions and desires into the new order of things, and introduce corruption into it a few months after.

We have therefore to seek a Principle of Education superior to any such theory, and capable of guiding mankind onwards towards their own improvement, of teaching them constancy and self-sacrifice, and of uniting them with their fellow-men, without making them dependent either on the *idea* of a single man or the *force* of the majority.

This principle is Duty. We must convince men that they are all sons of one sole God, and bound to fulfil and execute one sole law here on earth; that each of them is bound to live, not for himself, but for others; that the aim of existence is not to be more or less happy, but to make themselves and others more

virtuous ; that to struggle against injustice and error, wherever they exist, in the name and for the benefit of their brothers, is not only a *right* but a Duty—a duty which may not be neglected without sin, the duty of their whole life.

Working-men, brothers, understand me well. When I say that the consciousness of your rights will never suffice to produce an important and durable progress, I do not ask you to renounce those rights. I merely say that such rights can only exist as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and that we must begin with fulfilling the last in order to achieve the first. And when I say that in proposing happiness, well-being, or material interests, as the aim of existence, we run the risk of producing egotists, I do not say that you ought never to occupy yourselves with these ; but I do say that the exclusive endeavour after material interests, sought for, not as a *means*, but as an *end*, always leads to disastrous and deplorable results.

65. *Duty the Aim.*

Right is the faith of the individual. Duty is the common collective faith. Right can but organise resistance : it may destroy, it cannot found. Duty builds up, associates and unites ; it is derived from a general

law, whereas Right is derived only from human will. There is nothing, therefore, to forbid a struggle against Right: any individual may rebel against any right in another which is injurious to him; and the sole judge left between the adversaries is Force; and such, in fact, has frequently been the answer which societies, based upon right, have given to their opponents. Societies, based upon Duty, would not be compelled to have recourse to force; duty, once admitted as the rule, excludes the possibility of struggle; and by rendering the individual subject to the general aim, it cuts at the very root of those evils which Right is unable to prevent, and only affects to cure. Moreover, progress is not a necessary result of the doctrine of Right: it merely admits it as a fact. The exercise of rights being of necessity limited by capacity, progress is abandoned to the arbitrary rule of an unregulated and aimless liberty.

The doctrine of Rights puts an end to sacrifice, and cancels martyrdom from the world: in every theory of individual rights interests become the governing and motive power, and martyrdom an absurdity; for what interest can endure beyond the tomb? Yet, how often has martyrdom been the initiation of progress, the baptism of a world!

Moreover, this doctrine of Rights is distinctly a

doctrine of *opposition*; and it is the tendency of all doctrines of opposition to admit too readily any element, or accept any compromise, which appears likely to accelerate their victory, although the ultimate result is to weaken, transform or dissolve the victory thus obtained.

To me the doctrine of Rights—the American, English and French doctrine of the eighteenth century—appeared to express, even at that time, only one-half of the problem, and to be unfit to form the basis of true government, and incapable of providing for the progressive education of the people.

66. *Bentham's Theory of Rights.*

Man, then, is a being susceptible of pleasure and of pain. To seek the former and avoid the latter is the law of his being; to calculate well, his wisdom. Society may facilitate and guarantee to him many pleasures; it may avoid for him many pains: its object is to organise everything with a view to the greatest happiness principle for all. In this way the public interest will be identified with private interests. The acts from which the greatest number of pleasures are derived will be virtuous; those which produce most pain will be vicious. This, if I am not mistaken, is a

dry, crude, but faithful enunciation of the doctrine of Bentham, and of two-thirds of the democrats of the day, in its essence.

Now I can understand that in face of a society founded on privilege, organised with a view to a monopoly of enjoyment by the minority, one should say as a protest: *No; society ought to see to the well-being of all.* To have said this boldly and without reservation is the glory of Bentham. But to come to a party which assumes to found a future; which in its convictions is already emancipated from all veneration of privilege and monopoly; which demands from its chiefs an educational principle for the society to come; to say to such a party, "*Teach utility, the love of pleasure, and the abhorrence of pain,*"—this is what I own I cannot understand.

You have, on the other hand, a minority which possesses by right of inheritance, by aristocratic tradition, all the elements of wealth—land, capital, machines; on the other, the majority, possessing only its hands, its powers of labouring, and reduced to hire this out on the terms imposed by the former, on pain of death by famine. And to these two classes you, who would transform society, present the word *utility* the greatest possible *well-being*. How will you reconcile these conflicting interests? The

utility of the landowner is to sell his corn for the highest possible price; the utility of the manufacturer is to produce the most at the least possible expense. What suits the one is monopoly, the prohibitory system: what suits the other is the lengthening of the day of labour, and the greatest possible diminution of wages. How will you, without sacrifices and privations, reconcile these two utilities with that of the workman, which requires not only the assurance of an abundant return for his labour, and the acquisition of hours in which to develop his intellectual, and satisfy his moral faculties; but which must inevitably urge him to seek a progressively increasing share of the profits with his employer? There is clearly no question here of a balance, of some correlative in matter of interest. The question is one of concessions and privations on the one hand—of gain on the other. By what arguments will you convince the former that for them utility consists in sacrificing a part of their enjoyments? By placing before them, you will say, the security they will thus acquire for the remainder; for if they refuse to do this, they will run the risk of losing the whole by a commercial crisis, by a famine, by an insurrection of the working classes. I know it well; but, honestly, do you think the uncertain future has much share in the

calculations of the individual? Do you think the vague prospect of the scaffold has prevented many assassinations? Do you think the prospect of a future revolution enters much into the calculations of the statesman who upholds a despotic government? Have we ever seen the fear of a glut hinder many traders from throwing their goods into newly opened markets? No: man in general calculates his utility for the duration of his own life; he willingly repeats for his private behoof the saying of the diplomatist, "*After me the deluge.*" Or if he goes so far as to see a black spot rising on the horizon, he says to himself—"Let us wait and see; if the storm will come, we will then look to it."

67. *True Answer to Bentham.*

Will you say to these young men, will you say to your children—*Calculate pleasures and pains*? or will you repeat to them that beautiful saying of Georges Sand—"There is but one sole virtue in the world—the eternal sacrifice of self"? Will you intrust their young spirits to the barren, godless formula of interest? or will you comment for them that great saying of Jesus—"Let him who would be the first among you make himself the servant of all"? This

is what you are called on to determine. But in deciding forget yourselves. Look to men such as you have them in general around you. Do not—because you live with our life; because, unknown to yourselves, you breathe the morning breeze of the day that is about to dawn—do not pretend that all which is found at the bottom of your heart arises spontaneously in the heart of the millions. Do not say, because you are ready to see your utility in martyrdom, that the Glasgow workman and his master, the Irish labourer and the middleman, the child who works in the mine, and he who with a rod prevents him from falling asleep, will not find theirs elsewhere. *Martyrdom!* Your theory is dis-merited of it. It cannot impose it on the individual in the name of his well-being. Jesus is unintelligible to it: Socrates, if it be at all consistent, must seem to it like ~~the~~ *nonsense-talking* Plato, a sublime fool. There was, at the bottom of his cup of hemlock, something more than a calculation of pleasure, or disappointed expectation.

VIII. Duties and Rights.

"We believe that as God is one, so is life one, throughout its twofold manifestation, in the individual and in collective humanity."

68. *The False Secularists and Salvationists.*

ON the one side there are men who tell you :
"It is very true that God exists, but the only thing you can do is to confess His existence and adore Him. None can comprehend or declare the relation between God and your conscience. Reflect upon all this as much as you please, but neither propound your own belief to your fellow-men, nor seek to apply it to the affairs of this earth.

"Politics are one thing, Religion another. Do not confound them together. Leave all Heavenly things to the Spiritual Authorities, whatsoever they may be, reserving to yourselves the right of refusing them your belief if they appear to you to betray their mission. Let each man believe in his own way; the only things about which you are bound to concern yourselves in common are the things of this world. Materialists, or spiritualists, whichever you be, do you believe in the liberty and equality

of mankind? do you desire the well-being of the majority? do you believe in universal suffrage? Unite together to obtain these things; in order to obtain these you will have no occasion to come to a common understanding about Heavenly things."

„ On the other side, you have men who say to you : *"God exists, but He is too great, too superior to all created things for you to hope to approach Him through any human work. The earth is of clay. Life is but a day. Withdraw yourselves from the first as far as possible, and do not value the other above its worth. What are all earthly interests in comparison with the immortal life of your soul? Think of this! Fix your eyes on heaven. What matters it how you live here below? You are doomed to die, and God will judge you according to the thoughts you have given, not to earth, but to Him. Are you unhappy? Bless the God who has sent you sorrows. Terrestrial existence is but a period of trial, the earth but a land of exile. Despise it and raise yourselves above it. In the midst of sorrows, poverty, or slavery you can still turn to God, and sanctify yourselves in adoration of Him, in prayer and in faith in a future that will largely recompense you for having despised every worldly thing."*

Of those who thus speak to you the first do not love God, the second do not know Him.

69. *True Secularism.*

To those who speak to you of heaven, and seek to separate it from earth, you will say that Heaven and Earth are one, even as the *way* and the *goal* are one. Tell us not that the earth is of clay. The earth is of God. God created it as the medium through which we may ascend to Him. The earth is not a mere sojourn of temptation or of expiation; it is the appointed dwelling-place wherein we are bound to work out our own improvement and development, and advance towards a higher stage of existence. God created us, not to contemplate, but to act. He created us in His own image, and He is Thought and Action, or, rather, in Him there is no Thought which is not simultaneous Action.

70. *Unity of Life.*

Life is One. You cannot arrange its different manifestations so that they can remain independent, or find contradictory expression, without introducing anarchy. You cannot say to the people *Thou art half free and half enslaved; social life is thine, but religious life belongs to others*. You cannot dismember the soul. Liberty is the gift of God, who rules over, blesses, and renders fruitful *all* the faculties of man, His creature.

71. *Religion and Politics Inseparable.*

Religion and politics are inseparable. Without religion political science can only create despotism or anarchy. We seek neither the one nor the other. For us life is an educational problem, society the medium of developing it and of reducing it to action. Religion is the highest educational principle ; politics are the application of that principle to the various manifestations of human existence. The *ideal* remains in God ; society should be so arranged as to approach to it as nearly as is possible upon earth. Worshippers all of God, we should seek to conform our acts to His law. Thought is the *spirit*, its translation into action, into visible external works, is the *social fact*. To pretend, then, to separate entirely and for ever earthly things from those of heaven, the temporal from the spiritual, is neither moral, logical nor possible.

72. *The Earth is of God.*

No ; it is not true that there exists antagonism or separation between heaven and earth. No ; it is not true that, whilst truth and the justice of God reign in heaven, submission to fact and reverence to brute force is the terrestrial law. No ; it is not true that the

salvation of the human creature is accomplished here below, as in a place of expiation, by virtue of resignation and indifference. The earth is of God. The earth upon which Jesus, and after Him, the holy martyrs of Humanity, have shed their tears and blood, is the altar upon which we are bound to offer sacrifice to God; the soul is the priest, and our works are the incense which rises to heaven and is acceptable to our Heavenly Father. The earth is a ladder to heaven, and in order that we may be worthy to mount it our whole life should be a hymn to God. The place now given to us wherein to bear testimony to our faith, the arena of trial now granted to the free creature wherein to furnish the materials for God's judgment, this earth ought, by our efforts, to be transformed, ameliorated and purified; and as we are made in the image of God, it should be rendered more and more the image of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, of the *ideal* which God has given us, which Jesus foretold to us, and of the splendour of which our conscience, from epoch to epoch, gains a glimpse.

73. *New Conception of Heaven.*

Our conception of heaven is changed, our former conception of life has been proved imperfect; our former solution of the problem of the relation between

God and man is now rejected by the human heart, intellect, conscience and tradition. Humanity, Europe, is wandering in the void ; seeking the new bond destined to link together all the individual beliefs, presentiments and activities now lost in the isolation of doubt ; without a heaven, and, consequently, without the power of transforming earth.

IX. Duties and Rights.

"We believe in the duty of each and all ceaselessly to combat evil, and to promote good by thought and action."

74. *Improve Yourself: Institutions will follow.*

IMPROVE yourselves! Let this be the aim of your life. It is only by improving yourselves, by becoming more virtuous, that you can render your condition lastingly less unhappy. Petty tyrants would arise among yourselves by thousands, so long as you should merely strive to advance in the name of material interests or a special social organisation. A change of social organisation is of little moment while you yourselves remain with your present passions and egotism. Social organisations are like certain plants which yield either poison or medicine according to the mode in which they are administered. Good men can work good even out of an evil organisation, and bad men can work evil out of good organisations.

75. *Christ's Message to Working Men.*

Working men ! brothers ! When Christ came and changed the face of the world, He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them ; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them, in imitation of the rich ; He spoke not of utility nor of interest to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted : "He spoke of Duty, He spoke of Love, of Sacrifice, and of Faith ; and He said that *they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labour to the good of all.*

And the words of Christ, breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress.

Working men ! We live in an epoch similar to that of Christ. We live in the midst of a society as corrupt as that of the Roman Empire, feeling in our inmost soul the need of reanimating and transforming it, and of uniting all its various members in one sole faith, beneath one sole law, in one sole aim, the free and progressive development of all the faculties of which God has given the germ to His creatures. We seek the kingdom of God *on earth as it is in heaven*, or

rather, that earth may become a preparation for heaven, and society an endeavour after the progressive realisation of the Divine Idea.

But Christ's every act was the visible representation of the faith He preached, and around Him stood Apostles who incarnated in their actions the faith they had accepted. Be you such, and you will conquer. Preach Duty to the classes above you, and fulfil—as far as in you lies—your own. Preach virtue, sacrifice and love, and be yourselves virtuous, loving, and ready for self-sacrifice. Speak your thoughts boldly, and make known your wants courageously; but without anger, without reaction and without threats. The strongest menace—if indeed there be those for whom threats are necessary—will be the firmness, not the irritation of your speech.

76. *The Touchstone of Faith.*

I have here said what is to me the touchstone of every faith. When any one says to me, *Behold a good man*, I ask, *How many souls has he saved?* When any one says to me, *Behold a religious people*, I inquire what it has *done* and *suffered* to bring humanity to its belief.

It is to *man*, and not to a certain number of *men*, that God has given life, the sun, the fruits of the earth,

His law, and the capability of comprehending and obeying it. It was for *all* men that Jesus died on the Cross. And you who honour the name of God, and murmur unceasingly the name of Christ, what have you given, what do you give for all men? For whom do you die, for whom do you dare martyrdom? By what acts do you render testimony to the unity of the human race, of which you are only a member? What work of education do you accomplish upon earth? You found establishments for the sale of Bibles, you smuggle the Divine Word across forbidden frontiers but know you not that the foundation, the commencement of all education is liberty? Have you so completely lost the spirit, are you so blind to all but the dead letter of the law, as not to know that it is to man that God allotted the gift of understanding and of interpreting His will, and that the slave is not a man, but the form, the material part of man alone?

77. *The Curse of Cain.*

God, in judging us, will not ask, "What hast thou done for thy soul?" but "What hast thou done for the souls of others, for the sister souls which I have given thee?" For those who admit the *unity* of God, and the consequent unity of the human family, it is one of

the truths of faith that we are all responsible for one another. We cannot abandon our companions in life to the woes of ignorance and servitude, without being condemned as traitors to the Law, to our mission, to the souls confided to our care. The curse of Cain is upon him who does not feel himself the guardian of his brother. We ought to elevate ourselves by elevating our brothers ; to purify ourselves by disclosing to them the way to eternal truth and beauty. Every good thought and desire that we do not endeavour, come what may, to translate into action, is a sin. The thoughts of God manifest themselves in His works ; and we should imitate Him from afar.

X. The Family.

"We believe that the conception of the family is not only human, but Divine, and no human power can extinguish it ; like the country—even more than the country—the family is an element of existence."

78. *The Angel of the Family.*

THE angel of the family is Woman. Whether as mother, wife or sister, Woman is the caress of existence, the soft sweetness of affection diffused over its fatigues, a reflex on the individual of that loving Providence which watches over Humanity. She has in her a treasure of gentle consolation sufficient to soothe every sorrow. Moreover, she is for each of us the Initiatrix of the future. The child learns its first lesson of love from its mother's kiss—in the first sacred kiss of the beloved one. Man learns the lesson of hope and faith in life ; and hope and faith create that yearning after progress, and that power to achieve it step by step—that *future*, in short—whose living symbol is the infant, our link with the generations to come. It is through Woman that the

family—with its Divine mystery of reproduction—points to Eternity

79. *Equality of Woman.*

Love and respect Woman. Seek in her not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties.

Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over woman. You have none whatsoever.

Long prejudice, an inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice, have created that *apparent* intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression.

Consider Woman, therefore, as the partner and companion, not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life. Be ye the two human wings that lift the soul towards the ideal we are destined to attain.

80. *The Educational Mission of the Parent.*

Love the children given to you by God, but love them with a true, deep and earnest affection ; not with

the enervated, blind, unreasoning love, which is but egotism in you, and ruin to them. In the name of all that is most sacred, never forget that through them you have in charge the future generations; that towards them, as souls confided to your keeping, towards Humanity, and before God, you are under the heaviest responsibility known to mankind.

You are bound to initiate your children, not merely to the joys and desires of life, but to life itself; to its duties, and to its moral Law of Government.

Few mothers, few fathers, in this irreligious age—and even especially in the wealthier classes—understand the true gravity of their educational mission. Few mothers, few fathers, remember that the numerous victims, the incessant struggles, and the lifelong martyrdom of our day, are in a great measure the fruit of the *egotism* instilled thirty years back by the weak ~~mothers~~ and heedless fathers who allowed their children to accustom themselves to regard life, not as a mission and a duty, but as a search after happiness, and a study of their own well-being.

Your children will resemble you, and become corrupt or virtuous in proportion as you are yourself corrupt or virtuous.

How shall they become honest, charitable and humane, if you are without charity for your brothers? How shall they restrain their grosser appetites, if they see you given up to intemperance? How shall they retain their native innocence, if you shrink not from offending their modesty by indecent act or obscene word? You are the living model by which their pliant nature is fashioned. It depends, then, upon you whether your children be men or brutes.

81. *Honour your Parents.* ❧

Love and reverence your Parents. Let not the Family that issues from you make you unmindful of that from which you sprang. Too often do the new ties weaken the old, whereas they should be but another link in the chain of love that should unite the three generations of the Family in one. —

Surround the grey hairs of your mother and father with tender affection and respectful care even to their last day. Strew their path to the tomb with flowers. Let your constant love shed a perfume of faith and immortality over their weary souls. And be the affection you bestow on your own parents a pledge of that you shall receive from your children.

82. *Family, Fatherland, Humanity.*

And is there not between these three terms—family, fatherland, humanity—a close and indissoluble relationship? The family, is it not the germ of the state—the nation; as the state, the nation, is the germ of humanity? Are they not the three steps of the ladder which reaches up from man to God; three successive and progressive manifestations of human nature; three stages of the same idea; a realisation more and more complete of the providential plan which governs us? Either these things are all sacred, or not one of them is so. The one being organised with a view to the other, you cannot suppress any one of them without by so doing suppressing what constitutes the essence and the life of that one which in the order of nature precedes it; the end for which that one exists.

83. *I love not the Selfish Family.*

I love not the selfish family which establishes the well-being of its own members upon an antagonism to the well-being, or even upon an indifference to the well-being, of others; the mystery of love seems to me degraded there to the level of the brute; but who will

not love the family which, taking its part in the education of the world, regarding itself as the germ, as the first nucleus of the nation, whispers, between the mother's kiss and the father's caress, the child's first lesson of citizenship?

XI. The Nation.

"We believe not only in progress, but in man's solidarity in progress. We believe 'se in nationality, which is the conscience of the peoples, and which, by assigning to them their part in the work of association, constitutes their mission upon earth—that is to say, their individuality.'

. 84. *The Doctrine of Solidarity.*

FOREMOST and grandest amid the teachings of Christ were these two inseparable truths—*There is but one God; all men are the sons of God;* and the promulgation of these two truths changed the face of the world, and enlarged the moral circle to the confines of the inhabited globe. To the duties of men towards the Family and Country were added duties towards Humanity. Man then learned that wheresoever there existed a human being, there existed a brother; a brother with a soul immortal as his own, destined like himself to ascend towards the Creator, and on whom he was bound to bestow love, a knowledge of the faith, and help and counsel when needed.

Then did the Apostles utter words of sublime import, in prevision of those great truths of which the germ was contained in Christianity ; truths which have been misunderstood or betrayed by their successors :—

“ For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office ; so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another ” (St. Paul, Rom. xii. 4, 5).

“ And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice ; and there shall be one fold and one shepherd ” (St. John x. 16).

85. *Unity of Aim.*

You are all soldiers in one army : an army which is advancing by different paths, and divided into different corps, to the conquest of one sole aim. As yet you only look to your immediate leaders ; diversity of uniform and of watchword, the distances which separate the different bodies of troops, and the mountains which conceal them one from another, frequently cause you to forget this great truth, and concentrate your thoughts exclusively on your own immediate goal. But there is One above you who sees the whole and directs all your movements. God

alone has the plan of the battle, and He at length will unite you in a single camp, beneath a single Banner.

86. *Never deny the Sister Nations.*

Never deny your sister nations. Be it yours to evolve the Life of your Country in loveliness and strength; free from all servile fears or sceptical doubts; maintaining as its basis the People; as its guide the consequences of its Religious Faith, logically and energetically applied; its strength, the united strength of all; its aim, the fulfilment of the mission given to it by God.

87. *Love your Country.*

O, my brothers, love your country! Our country is our Home, the House that God has given us, placing therein a numerous family that loves us, and whom we love; a family with whom we sympathise more readily, and whom we understand more quickly, than we do others; and which, from its being centred round a given spot, and from the homogeneous nature of its elements, is adapted to a special branch of activity. •

Our Country is our common workshop, whence the products of our activity are sent forth for the benefit of the whole world; wherein the tools and implements of labour we can most usefully employ, are gathered together; nor may we reject them without disobeying the plan of the Almighty, and diminishing our own strength.

In labouring for our own country, on the right principle we labour for Humanity. Our country is the fulcrum of the lever we have to wield for the common good. In abandoning that fulcrum, we run the risk of rendering ourselves useless not only to Humanity but to our country itself.

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart blushing whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to Him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give it to your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful, as it was foretold by our great men. And see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood

or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God.

88. *Abhor the Usurping Nation.*

I abhor the usurping and monopolising nation, conceiving its own grandeur and force only in the inferiority and in the poverty of others; but who would not welcome with enthusiasm and love that people which, understanding its mission in the world, should found its security upon the progress of all surrounding it, and should be ready to sustain against the oppressor the cause of right and of eternal justice, violated in the oppressed?

89. *International Morality.*

The sentiment enthusiastically responded to by the human instincts of a Roman audience, even in Rome's most corrupt days, has yet to be extended and applied by Christian England to international interests. We are a nation, and nothing that concerns other nations do we deem foreign to us. Through good and evil report to this principle we must firmly adhere, if we would have our claim of "teaching the nations how to live" held for more than an idle boast.

It is not enough that we have established, and are resolute to further and maintain, our own freedom and nationality. Our wishes and endeavours must tend to secure the same blessings for other countries. As no man will reach heaven who seeks to reach it alone, so no nation will ever develop the highest and most enduring forms of national life, while it is contented to remain the passive and uninterested spectator of the onward and upward struggles of kindred peoples. A recluse tribe is as anomalous as a single anchorite.

90. *Non-Intervention.*

Through our indifference we abdicate our claims to Christianity—to Humanity. Can it be that, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, we reach no higher faith than the ignoble "Every one for himself"? Can it be that, regardless of that Divine law which, requiring the best devotion of each for the best development of all, binds together all members of the human family, England—the England of the Reformation, the England of Elizabeth, and of Cromwell, self-centred in immoral indifference, gives up Europe to the dictatorship of Force; to the blind rule of the Powers representing that principle which, by her institutions, by her belief, she declares to be the

Evil One? And was it but to yield submissively to such a dictatorship, that England for so many years poured out her treasures, and the best blood of her sons, in the contest against Napoleon?

91. *War, like Death, Sacred only when the Gate
to Higher Life.*

War, like Death, is sacred; but only when, like death, it opens the gates to a holier life, to a higher ideal. I hail the glorious emancipating battles of humanity, from Marathon down to our own Lignano, without which our municipal liberties would have been crushed in their bud; from those which won religious liberty for the half of Europe, down to those which, in our own time, summoned Greece from her grave of two thousand years to a second life; the blood-baptisms of mankind to a great mission, to be fulfilled only through martyrdom. But war, whenever not sanctified by a *principle* inscribed on its flag, is a crime; the foulest of crimes: soldiers, whenever they are not the armed apostles of progressive life and liberty, are nothing but wretched, irrational, hired cut-throats. And for *such* a war there may be momentary triumphs; never the beautiful rainbow of lasting heroic victory.

92. *Democratic Diplomacy.*

And in this progress, this God-directed pilgrimage of the peoples, there will be neither conquest nor threat of conquest, because there will be neither man-king nor people-king, but only an association of brothers whose interest and aim are identical. The law of duty, openly acknowledged and confessed, will take the place of that disposition to usurp the rights of others which has hitherto governed the relations between people and people; and which is, in fact, naught other than the foresight of fear. The ruling principle of international law will no longer be *to secure the weakness of others*, but *the amelioration of all through the work of all: the progress of each for the benefit of the others.*

93. *International Policy.*

Reflect, then, seriously on the character of your international policy, for the honour and future of your land are entirely dependent on it. There are men who think they have accomplished their mission towards their country when they have contracted a petty treaty of commerce with a government that to-morrow may not see, or only put back for a few years, by base

compliances, a situation of difficulty that must inevitably arise. These may be clever men for a time—influential party chiefs : but they are not statesmen. They avert for an instant tempests that must fall hereafter, the more terrible for the accumulation of destructive elements. They prop with the labour of a day old buildings irrevocably condemned to perish ; they do not prepare a site, firm and free, for an erection truly great and permanent, that they may give shelter throughout long ages to future generations. The statesman is he whose practice is a comment on the saying of Leibnitz—"The present, son of the past, is parent of the future." The present must be for him a point of departure : the goal lies in the times that are to come. For his operations, England must be the fulcrum of the lever, whose power is to be felt abroad. He who undertakes to mould the power and the well-being of England, without reference to the study of the European future, whatever he may do, will never be a great man nor the benefactor of his country.

I do wish that there should be at least one nation in the world to set an example of public morality ; one nation professing a belief whose language and acts should continuously harmonise with that belief ; one nation whose international policy should not be an insult to its internal policy.

94. *Solidarity of the Peoples.*

Wherefore do you read so eagerly the prodigies of patriotism registered in Grecian history, and relate them to your children with a sense of pride, as if they belonged to the history of your ancestors ? *

Those deeds of Greece are two thousand years old, and belong to an epoch of civilisation which is not and never can be yours. Those men whom you still call martyrs, perhaps died for a faith which is not yours ; and certainly their death cut short their every hope of individual progress on earth. That people whom you admire in its victories or in its fall is a foreign people, almost unknown to you, and speaking a strange tongue. Their way of life has no influence upon yours. What matters it then to you whether they be ruled by Pope or Sultan, by the King of Bavaria, the Czar of Russia, or a free government sprung from the consent of the nation ?

It is that there is in your heart a voice that cries unto you : " Those men of two thousand years ago ; those populations fighting afar off ; that martyr for an idea of which you would not die—are your brothers ; brothers, not only in community of origin and of nature, but in community of labour and of aim ! " Those Greeks passed away, but their deeds remained ; and were it

not for them, you would not have reached your present degree of moral and intellectual development. Those populations consecrated with their blood an idea of national liberty for which you too would combat. That martyr proclaimed by his death that man is bound to sacrifice all things, and, if need be, life itself for that which he believes to be the truth.

XII. Democracy.

"We believe in the people, one and independent, so organised as to harmonise the individual faculties with the social idea, living by the fruits of its own labour united in seeking after the greatest possible amount of general well-being, and in respect for the rights of individuals."

95. *Democracy.*

THE democratic tendency of our times, the upward movement of the popular classes, who desire to have their share in political life,—hitherto a life of privilege,—is henceforth no Utopian dream, no doubtful anticipation. It is a fact, a great European fact; which occupies every mind, influences the proceedings of governments, defies all opposition. Whatever may be said to the contrary, no one, nowadays, sees in the ever-strengthening voice of rising nations, of generations desirous of laying the foundations of a better future, of oppressed races claiming their place in the sunshine—nothing more than the vain imagination of a writer, or the cry of an agitator thrown out haphazard among the crowd. No, it is something more serious; it is a page of the world's

destiny, written by the finger of God in the heart of these generations, whose movement hurries us along. It is the development of that law of which we are but the agents—the law of continued progress—without which there would be neither life, nor movement, nor religion ; for there would be no Providence.

96. *Only developed Christianity.*

Friends and enemies begin to own this. And yet, if the former salute the development of this fact with hymns of joy, the latter persist in regarding it as something abnormal, as a scourge acknowledged to be inevitable, but against which the human heart is irresistibly impelled to struggle. They are corrupted, you will say, and governed by egotism. This is true of many : but in their ranks are to be found upright men, hearts capable of feeling, but under the yoke of mistaken convictions : even among the friends of democracy there are men who put their hands to the work with hesitation, and who sometimes appear seized with vague terror. One would say that the echo of that wild cry uttered some ten years since by a statesman, speaking of the working classes, "The barbarians are at our gates," still rings threateningly in their ears.

Whence comes this ? Do we not all applaud, as did the Rômans in their theatre, the prophetic verse of the freedman, "Homo sum ; humani nihil a me alienum puto," when, through the vista of history, we see slavery and its pagan theory of two races fall before the holy words of Jesus, "All men are children of God" ? Do we not hail, as another great conquest of the Divine Spirit which fomented in the heart of humanity, that other era in history, when through the Christian doctrine *We are all brethren*, serfdom disappeared, and made room for the free communes ? Why, then, instead of rejoicing at the good news that millions of our brethren demand to join with us in accomplishing the world's work, do so many among us turn pale with terror at the signs of the coming future ? Do they not call themselves Christians ? Do they not repeat, as formulæ of their belief, these words of the only prayer taught us by Christ—" *Our Father, . . . Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven*" ?

97. *Attempt to realise the Lord's Prayer.*

And what is the present movement but an attempt at the practical realisation of this prayer ? We are labouring that the development of human society may

be, as far as possible, in the likeness of the Divine society; in the likeness of the heavenly country, where all are equal; where there exists but one love, but one happiness for all. We seek the paths of heaven upon earth; for we know that this earth was given us for our workshop; that through it we can rise to heaven; that by our earthly works we shall be judged; by the number of the poor whom we have assisted; by the number of the unhappy whom we have consoled. The law of God has not two weights and two measures. Christ came for all: He spoke to all: He died for all. We cannot logically declare the children of God to be equal before God, and unequal before men. We cannot wish our immortal spirit to abjure on earth that gift of liberty which is the source of good and evil in our actions; the exercise of which makes man virtuous or criminal in the eyes of God. We cannot wish the brow that is raised to heaven to fall prostrate in the dust before any created being; the soul that should aspire to heaven, to rot in ignorance of its rights, its powers and its noble origin, while on earth. We cannot admit that, instead of being one another like brethren, men ought to be divided, hostile, selfish, jealous, city of city, nation of nation. We protest, then, against all inequality, against all oppression, whereso-

ever it is practised ; for we acknowledge no foreigners ; we recognise only the just and the unjust ; the friends and the enemies of the Law of God.

98. *Causes of Mistrust.*

Whence comes, then, once more, that instinctive mistrust, and even hostility, which, here as elsewhere, accompanies every step of its progress ? I think it comes, in part, from terror at the past, in part from the anarchy of the present ; but, above all, from a false, or, at least, very imperfect, theory, which the democratic party themselves have too often assigned as the basis of their activity.

There are men who no sooner hear the name of democracy than the phantom of '93 rises immediately before them. With them democracy means the guillotine surmounted by a red cap. This is just as though we were to judge of monarchy by the horrors recently committed by the Austrian government in Galicia, or Christianity by St. Bartholomew, and the cold-blooded cruelty of the Inquisition.

Others cite the ever-recurring agitations of the small Italian democracies of the Middle Ages ; as if there

could be any historical analogy between the representative democracy of future times, with its interpreters intrusted with the application and development of a fundamental law, and that of towns where the principle was only adopted in the election of chiefs, where there existed no constitution directing and binding together citizens and chiefs; and where, consequently, insurrection was the only remedy against abuse of power.

99. *Representative Democracy an Entirely Modern Fact.*

The union of the *democratic* principle with *representative* government is an *entirely modern fact*, which throws out of court all precedents that might be appealed to; they have nothing but the *word* in common; the *thing* is radically different.

And as for the horrors which signalised the upstarting—for it was by no means the organisation, but the upstarting of democracy in France—they were exceptional facts which cannot occur again. To say nothing of the progress made in fifty years, and the wholly different temper of the men who now plead the cause of democracy, there was then a feudal system to

be destroyed, of which the characteristics no longer exist, except in the north of Europe—a struggle between federalism and the principle of national unity, which has long since been settled in all organised states, and—what is now impossible—a war of all Europe against the country which, first hoisted the standard of democracy.

What is real at the present time, and indefinitely obstructs the progress of the principle, is the anarchy which prevails in the camp of its apostles. The democratic party is, perhaps, the only one in Europe which is without a government; which has no directors, and no moral centre in Europe to represent it. We are believers without a temple. We have imbibed from the past so much fear of authority; we dread so much being formed into regiments on the high road, that each throws himself into a by-path, with great danger of going astray. Liberty, which should be but a *means*, has become an *end*.

100. *Definition of Democracy.*

Democracy : *the progress of all through all, under the leading of the best and wisest.*

The weakening of all which is not ourselves, or, amelioration of all by all; the progress of each for the advantage of all.

· This is the question which democracy desires to solve; for democracy is not the mere liberty of all, but *government freely consented to by all, and acting for all.*

101. *The People enter the Arena.*

The great and inevitable opposition to this false idea of nationality which ensued, was a direct consequence of the spirit of Christianity, which admits of no enemies amongst mankind; and of the spirit of progress, which has prepared the way for association. Philosophy and political economy introduced cosmopolitanism among us. Cosmopolitanism preached the doctrines of equality of rights for all men, and of free trade in commerce through Anacharsis Clootz, and other orators of the convention created a new literature with romanticism, and did in all things what oppositions generally do: it exaggerated the consequences of a principle true in itself; and seeing none but *regal* nationalities, and countries in which the peoples had no existence, it denied both the fatherland and the nation, and admitted only the world and mankind.

From that time forward the people entered the arena,

and at the present day all things are transformed by the presence of that new element of life.

The history of the progressive development of the popular element throughout eighteen centuries of warfare and vicissitude has yet to be written: and he who should write it worthily would reduce the European enigma to its most simple expression, and cause humanity to ascend a step on the scale of progress, by revealing the true meaning of the strife which has hitherto held its generations divided, and will continue to divide them so long as the men of liberty persist in departing from the true line of policy in search of systems of *compromise* and impossible conciliation.

102. *Democracy on a Religious Basis.*

By decree of Providence, gloriously revealed in the progressive history of humanity, not Italy alone, but Europe, is advancing towards democracy. The most logical form of democracy is the republic: the republic, therefore, is one of the facts of the future. *But this fact, in order to be lasting, must be founded upon a religious basis.*

I am a democrat wishing to advance and to make others do the same, in the name of these three sacred

words—Tradition, Progress, Association. I believe in the great voice of God which ages bring to me through the universal tradition of the human race. It tells me that the Family, the Nation, and Humanity, are the three spheres through which human individuality must labour to the common end, the moral perfecting of itself and of others, or rather of itself by others and for others; that the institution of Property is destined to be the sign of the material activity of the individual; of his share in the improvement of the physical world, as the right of suffrage must indicate his share in the administration of the political world; and that it is precisely from the use, better or worse, made of such rights in these spheres of activity, that the merit or demerit of the individual before God and man depends.

103. *Some Principles of Democratic Policy.*

The most logical party is ever the strongest. Do not be satisfied with inspiring a mere spirit of rebellion in your followers, nor an uncertain indefinite declaration of liberalism. Ask of each man in what he believes, and only accept as members those whose convictions are the same as our own. Put your trust, not so much in the number as in the unity of your forces.

The great error of the past has been that of intrusting the fate of the country to individuals rather than to principles.

Combat this error, and preach faith, not in names, but in the people, in our rights, and in God.

Avoid compromises. They are almost always immoral, as well as dangerous.

Put no trust in diplomacy, but disconcert its intrigues by beginning the struggle, and by publicity in all things.

XIII. Liberty.

"We believe in liberty for all that is indispensable to the moral and material alim^{en}t of life : personal liberty, liberty of locomotion, liberty of faith, liberty of thought and its expression, liberty of the press, liberty of labour and of trade, liberty of association."

104. *Definition of Liberty.*

OUR faculties are the instruments of labour given to us by God. It is therefore a necessity that their development be aided and promoted, and their exercise protected and free.

Without Liberty you cannot fulfil any of your duties. Therefore have you a right to liberty and a duty to wrest it at all risks from whatsoever power shall seek to withhold or deny it. *Without liberty there is no true morality, because if there be not free choice between good and evil, between devotion to the common progress and the spirit of egotism, there can be no responsibility.*

Without Liberty there is no true society, because association between free men and slaves is impossible ; there can only exist the rule of the one over the others.

Liberty is sacred, as the individual of whose life it is the reflex is sacred. Where Liberty is not, Life is reduced to a mere organic function; and when man allows the violation of his liberty, he is false to his own nature, and rebels against the decree of God.

105. *Civil Liberty.*

No one has any right to imprison you, or subject you to personal espionage or restraint in the name of Society, without telling you wherefore, telling it you with the least possible delay, and immediately conducting you before the judicial power of the country.

No one has any right of persecution, intolerance, or exclusive legislation as to your religious opinions: no voice, save the grand peaceful voice of Humanity, has any right to interpose itself between God and your conscience.

God has given you the faculty of Thought: no one has a right to suppress or restrain its expression, which is the act of communion between your soul and the souls of your brother men, and is our one sole means of progress.

The Press must be absolutely free. The rights of intellect are inviolable, and every *preventive* censorship is tyranny. Society may, however, punish the errors of the Press, or the teaching of crime or immorality,

just as it may punish any other description of error. This right of punishment (decreed in virtue of a solemn public judgment) is a consequence of our human responsibility; but every anterior intervention is a negation of liberty.

The right of peaceful association is as sacred as thought itself. God gave us the tendency to association as a perennial means of progress, and as a pledge of that unity which the human family is destined one day to attain.

No power, then, has a right to limit or impede association.

It is the duty of each of you to employ the life given him by God, to preserve it, and to develop it: each of you, then, is bound to labour as the sole means of his material support. Labour is sacred. No one has a right to impede it, forbid it, or render it impossible by arbitrary regulations. No one has any right to forbid free trade in its productions. Your country is your lawful market, which none may limit or restrain.

106. *Liberty is a "Means" not an "End."*

* Liberty is *not* a *means*. Woe unto you and to your future, should you ever accustom yourselves to regard it as the *end*! Your own individuality has its rights and duties, which may not be yielded up to any; but

woe unto you and to your future, should the respect you owe unto that which constitutes your individual life ever degenerate into the fatal crime of egotism.

Liberty is not the negation of all authority: it is the negation of every authority that fails to represent the collective aim of the Nation, or that presumes to impose or maintain itself upon any other basis than that of your free consent.

107. *The Struggle for Liberty Sacred.*

The struggle for liberty is as sacred as human individuality: maintain it to the last. Wherever government—corrupt or behind the age—has no true educational mission, beware of giving it one: surround yourselves with guarantees, so long as you can do no better. Only do not erect into a final theory what is but a sad temporary necessity; do not limit the problem to a mere overthrowing of obstacles. We are clearing the ground in order to raise a new edifice. We need liberty, as much to fulfil a *duty* as to exercise a *right*: we must retain it. But if you give to your political education a higher religious principle, liberty will become what it ought really to be—the ability to choose between various means of doing good; if you enthrone it alone, as at once *means* and *end*, it will

become what some jurisconsults, copying paganism, have defined it to be—the right to use and to abuse. It will lead society first to anarchy, afterwards to the despotism which you fear.

108. *Liberty and Necessity.*

The attempt to harmonise the two principles of Liberty and Necessity—which, after passing through a series of transformations into secondary and gradually simpler formulæ, are represented at the present day by the individual principle and the social principle—is the sole method that will lead us to the peaceful discovery of our law of being, and the organised development of our destiny.

XIV. Equality.

"We believe in human equality: that is to say, that God has given to all mankind the faculties and powers necessary to the achievement of an equal amount of progress; we believe that all are both called and elected to achieve this sooner or later, according to their works."

109. *The Holy Communion the Pledge of Equality.*

THIS word *Communion*, which I have written advisedly, was taught us by Christianity, which the men of the past declared to be an immutable religion, but which is, in fact, a step in the scale of the religious manifestations of Humanity.

And it is a sacred word. It taught mankind that they were a single family of equals before God, and united master and servant in a single thought of salvation, of love and of hope in heaven.

It was an immense advance upon the preceding ages, when both philosophers and people believed the souls of citizens and the souls of slaves to be of different nature and race. And this mission alone would have sufficed to stamp the greatness of Christianity. The Communion was the symbol of the equality and fraternity of souls, and it rested with

humanity to amplify and develop the truth hidden under that symbol.

110. *Absolute Equality of Distributive Injustice.*

It is clear that the system of *absolute* equality in the distribution of the produce of labour is unjust, unfeasible, and inevitably leading to that which it pretends to suppress. It destroys all appreciation of talent, of virtue, of activity, of devotion in the agent; all appreciation of the quality of the labour. It supposes an equality, which does not exist, in all the fruits of the earth; in all the productions of industry. It is, besides, inefficacious for the end which it proposes to itself; for he who economises in his consumption to-day will be rich to-morrow, and inequality will reappear through him.

111. *The Christian Origin of Equality.*

The martyrdom and the word of Christ are not in opposition to our principles. Has not Jesus told us that we are all brothers and children of God? Did He not come to destroy the castes and inequalities of nature admitted by paganism? Did He not say that He died to save, to emancipate us all from the consequences of the first sin? Did He not teach

us that we ought to form on earth one holy unity in God and in love? Did He not announce that the Human family should form but one flock, and should have but one shepherd, the interpreted Law of God? Did He not sanction the principle of transmission according to the *spirit*, according to works, as opposed to that of transmission according to the flesh, according to the privilege of caste and birth? Did He not enjoin upon us that in the brotherly emulation in good works to which He exhorted His followers, He only should be deemed the first amongst us who knew how to be the last, and how best to devote himself to the common work with an ardent and self-sacrificing zeal? Does not every syllable of the gospel breathe that spirit of liberty, of equality, of war to evil, to injustice and to falsehood, which informs our zeal?

XV. Fraternity.

"We believe in the peoples bound together in brotherhood by a common faith, tradition and idea of Love. We believe in association as the sole method of progress, the principle destined to predominate over all popular institutions, and the pledge of their harmony of action."

112. *Fraternity the Basis of Society, but not the Aim.*

MEN deemed they had found a remedy for their evils when they raised up from the foot of that cross of Christ which rules above an entire epoch of the world's history the formula of fraternity bestowed by the godlike man upon the human race; that sublime formula, unknown to the pagan world, but for which the Christian world had—often unconsciously—fought many a holy fight from the Crusades to Lepanto. Liberty, equality and fraternity, inscribed upon every banner, became the programme of the future, and men attempted to confine progress within the circle marked out by those three points. But progress broke through the circle; the eternal *cui bono* reappeared. For we, all of us, demand an

aim, a human aim. What is existence other than an aim, and the means of its achievement? Now, fraternity does not supply any general social terrestrial aim; it does not even imply the necessity of an aim. It has no essential and inevitable relation with a purpose or intent calculated to harmonise the sum of human faculties and forces. Fraternity is undoubtedly the basis of all society, the first condition of social progress, but it is not progress; it renders it possible—it is an indispensable element of it—but it is not its definition.

113. *Social Brotherhood.*

Sons of God all of us, and of the same redemption, we cannot betray our duty towards our brothers, because those who are the most bound to speak are silent through cowardice. Our brothers can only be redeemed from sloth by honouring labour and teaching its sacredness. Nor can the sacredness of labour be taught except by reforming a society founded upon privilege. Our brothers can only be redeemed from falsehood by destroying the public worship that is paid to it.

The brotherhood of Christ cannot be founded where the ignorance, misery and servitude of some, and the science, riches and domination of others, prevent men

from mutually esteeming and loving each other. Nor can these causes of inequality be effectually diminished without a national education being administered by society to all its members.

Men's minds cannot be imbued with the virtue of self-sacrifice in a society where egotism is ever taught by present risk, where money is the sole foundation for the security and independence of individuality.

114. *Union is Strength.*

You are created for *Association*.

Association centuples your strength; it makes the thoughts of others, and the progress of others, your own, while it elevates and sanctifies your nature through the affections and the growing sentiment of the unity of the human family. In proportion as your association with your brother men is extended, in proportion as it is intimate and comprehensive, will you advance on the path of individual improvement.

The law of life cannot be fulfilled in its entirety, save by the united labour of all. For every step taken in progress, for every new discovery of a portion of that law, history shows a corresponding extension of human association, a more extended contact and communication between peoples and peoples.

115. *Association not Charity.*

Charity is not the watchword of the Faith of the future. The watchword of the Faith of the future is *association* and fraternal co-operation of all towards a common aim, and this is as far superior to all charity, as the edifice which all of you should unite to raise would be superior to the humble hut each one of you might build alone, or with the mere assistance of lending and borrowing stone, mortar and tools.

XVI. Labour.

"We believe that whosoever is willing to give, for the benefit of the whole, that amount of labour of which he is capable, ought to receive such amount of recompense for that labour as will enable him to develop his individual life in each of the essential characteristics by which individual life is defined.

116. *The Economic Problem of the Present.*

THE great social idea now prevailing in Europe may be thus defined: the abolition of the proletariat; the emancipation of producers from the tyranny of capital concentrated in a small number of hands; redivision of productions, or of the value arising from productions, in proportion to the work performed; the moral and intellectual education of the operative; voluntary association between workmen substituted, gradually and peacefully, for individual labour paid at the will of the capitalist. This sums up all the reasonable aspirations of the present time. It is not a question of destroying, abolishing, or violently transferring wealth from one class to another; it is a question of extending the circle of consumers;

of consequently augmenting production; of giving a larger share to producers; of opening a wide road to the operative for the acquisition of wealth and property: in short, of putting capital and the instruments of labour within reach of every man offering a guarantee of good-will, capacity and morality. These ideas are just; and they are destined eventually to triumph; historically, the time is ripe for their realisation. To the emancipation of the *'slave* has succeeded that of the *serf*; that of the serf must be followed by that of the *workman*. In the course of human progress the patriciate has undermined the despotic privilege of royalty; the bourgeoisie, the financial aristocracy, has undermined the privilege of birth; and now the people, the workers, will undermine the privilege of the proprietary and moneyed bourgeoisie; until society, founded upon labour, shall recognise no other privilege than that of virtuous intelligence, presiding, through the choice of the people enlightened by education, over the full development of its faculties and its social capabilities.

117. *The Economic Ideal.*

This is the ideal which all of us ought to strive and study to approach more nearly from age to age.

Every change, every revolution that fails to advance

us one step towards this ideal, which does not produce a moral and social progress corresponding to the political progress achieved, which does not result in one degree of improvement of the material condition of the poorer classes, violates the Providential Design and reduces itself to the rank of a mere war of faction against faction, each seeking illegitimate dominion, and each alike a falsehood and an evil.

But to what point can we realise this aim at the present day? How and by what means can we reach this point?

Some of the more timid amongst your well-wishers have sought the remedy in the morality of the working man himself. They have founded savings banks, and similar institutions, saying to the operative, "*Bring your wages here, economise, abstain from every excess, whether of drink or otherwise; emancipate yourselves from poverty by privation.*"

And such advice is excellent, in so far as it tends to the moral improvement of the workman, without which all reforms are useless. But it neither solves the question of poverty itself, nor takes any account of social duty.

Very few of you can economise your wages. And all that those few can achieve by their slow accumulation is the possibility of providing, to a certain extent, for

their old age. Now, the economical question has more than this in view. Its object is also to provide for the years of manhood, to develop and expand *life*, as far as possible, while in its full vigour and activity, while it may most efficaciously aid the progress of the Country and Humanity.

Even with regard to the mere material well-being of the working class, this advice falls short of the aim, as it does not even hint at any method of increasing wealth or production.

Moreover, society, which lives by the labour of the sons of the people, and demands from them their tribute of blood in the hour of danger, incurs a sacred debt towards them in return.

There are other men, not enemies of the people, but indifferent to the cry of suffering which bursts from the hearts of the sons of Labour, and fearful of every great innovation, who belong to the school of Economists, and who have worthily and usefully fought the battle of industry and labour, but without reflecting that the necessity of progress and of association is an irradicable element of human nature.

This school has maintained, and still—like the philanthropists of whom I have spoken—does maintain, that every man *can*, even in the present state of things, build up his own independence on his own activity,

that any change in the organisation of labour would be either injurious or superfluous, and that the formula, *Each for himself and liberty for us all*, is sufficient to create by degrees an approximate equilibrium of ease and comfort among the various classes that constitute society.

Liberty of internal traffic, liberty of commerce among nations, a progressive reduction of customs duties (especially upon raw materials), a general encouragement offered to great industrial enterprises, to the multiplication of means of communication, and all machinery tending to increase activity of production—these, according to the Economists, are all that society can offer for the amelioration of the position of your class, and any further intervention on its part would, in their opinion, be a source of evil.

If this were indeed true, the evil of poverty would be incurable; but God forbid, my brothers! that I should ever give your sufferings and your aspirations an answer so despairing, atheistic and immoral. God has ordained for you a better future than that offered by the remedies of the Economists.

118. *The Principle of Property and its Modes.*

Among the "essential elements of human life—such as Religion, Association, Liberty, and others to which

I have alluded in the course of this work—Property is one.

The first principle and origin of property is in human nature itself. It represents the necessities of the material life of the individual which it is his duty to maintain. Even as the individual is bound to transform the moral and intellectual world, through the medium of religion, science and liberty, so he is bound to transform, ameliorate and govern the physical world, through the medium of material labour. And property is the sign and representative of the fulfilment of that task, of the amount of labour by which the individual has transformed, developed and increased the productive forces of nature.

The *principle* of property is therefore eternal, and you will find it recognised and protected throughout the whole existence of Humanity. But the *modes* by which it is governed are mutable, and destined—like every other manifestation of life—to be governed by the law of progress. They who, finding property once constituted and established in a certain manner, declare that manner to be inviolable, and struggle against every effort to transform it, thus deny progress itself.

It is enough to take up two volumes of history, treating of two different epochs, to find an alteration in

the constitution of property. And they who, because at a given epoch they happen to find property ill-constituted, declare that it must be abolished, and seek to cancel it from society, deny one of the elements of human nature, and would—were it possible they should succeed—retard progress by mutilating life. Property, however, would inevitably reappear shortly after, and probably in the identical shape it wore at the period of its abolition.

Property is ill-constituted at the present day, because the source and origin of its actual division was—generally speaking—in conquest; in the violence by which, at a period remote from our own day, certain invading peoples or classes took possession either of land or of the fruits of labour not their own.

Property is ill-constituted at the present day, because the bases of the partition of the fruits of a labour achieved by both proprietor and workman are not laid down in a just and equal proportion to the labour done.

Property is ill-constituted, because, while it confers on its possessor political and legislative rights which are denied to the workman, it tends to become the monopoly of the few inaccessible to the many.

Property is ill-constituted, because the system of taxation is ill-constituted, and tends to maintain the

privilege of wealth in the hands of the proprietor, while it oppresses the poorer classes, and renders saving impossible to them.

But if, instead of correcting the errors, and slowly modifying the constitution of property, you should seek to abolish it, you would suppress a source of wealth, of emulation, and of activity, and would resemble the savage who cut down the tree in order to gather its fruit.

We must not seek to abolish property because at present it is the possession of the few ; we must open up the paths by which the many may acquire it. We must go back to the principle which is its legitimisation, and endeavour that it shall in future be the result of labour alone.

We must lead Society towards establishing a more equitable basis of remuneration between the proprietor or capitalist and the workman.

We must transform the system of taxation, so as to exempt the first necessities of life therefrom, and thus render that economy which gradually produces property possible to working men.

And in order that these things may be, we must suppress the political privilege now conceded to

property, and allow to all a share in the work of legislation.

Now, all these things are both just and possible. By educating yourselves and organising yourselves earnestly to demand them and determining to have them, you may obtain them ; whereas, by seeking the abolition of property, you would seek an impossibility, do an injustice to those who have already acquired it through their own labour, and diminish instead of increasing production.

119. *Communism.*

Owing principally to the teachings of the Republican party, the sense of a social duty towards the sons of labour—the earnest of a better future for the peoples—had gradually been awakened in Europe during the last thirty years, when certain schools arose (in France especially), composed for the most part of well-meaning and sincere friends of the people, but led astray by an overweening love of system-making, and by individual vanity.

They were called *Saint Simonism*, *Fourierism*, *Communism*, etc., etc. Nearly all of them were based upon ideas good in themselves, and long accepted by all who belonged to the creed of Progress ; but they

spoiled or nullified these ideas by the erroneous and tyrannical methods by which they proposed to apply and reduce them to practice. And it is necessary that I should briefly point out to you wherein their errors consisted, because the promises held out to the people by these systems are so magnificent as to be likely to seduce your approval, and you would run the risk, by accepting them, of retarding your emancipation, which is inevitable in a not far distant future.

120. *Error of Socialism.*

First cause of this anarchical disorder of French socialism is the *materialism* which still governs the mind of the country. This is so true, that the worship of material interests has become its watchword. I know the exceptions, and I honour them, but they do not destroy the general fact. The great and noble question of the perfectibility of collective humanity, and the emancipation of the classes who are excluded from educational progress by the desperate struggle which they are obliged to maintain for the means of material existence, has been narrowed by the majority of French socialists to the proportions of a mere problem of industrial organisation.

121. *The Heritage of Labour.*

The physical world, the workshop of humanity, was not given to the few—it was given to Labour. Material instruments, neither good nor bad in themselves, but instruments of good or evil, according to the individual or collective end to which they are directed, belong to all those who work; and they will be more and more beneficially and *religiously* distributed, as the gradually increasing education of the human race shall teach the many how best to apply them to good. Nor will the law be humanly fulfilled whilst a *single poor man*, deprived of work, and of the fruits due to labour, and abandoned to the alms of the rich, gives the lie to the tradition of the gift of the earth made by God to humanity in the person of the first man, and to that idea of fraternal *communon*, contained in the daily repeated words of the Christian religion, “*in order that we may be all one.*”

122. *The Remedy.*

The remedy is to be found in *the union of labour and capital in the same hands.*

When society shall recognise no other distinction save the distinction between *producers* and *consumers*; or rather when every man shall be alike producer and

consumer; when the profits of labour, instead of being parcelled out among that series of *intermediates*—which (beginning with the capitalist, and ending with the retailer) frequently increases the price of production 50 per cent.—shall belong entirely to those who perform the labour, all the *permanent* causes of your poverty shall be removed.

Your future depends upon your emancipation from the exactions of capital, which is at present the arbitrary ruler of a production in which it has no share.

Your *material* and *moral* future. Look around you. Wherever you find capital and labour in the same hands—wherever the profits of labour are divided among the workmen in proportion to the increase of those profits, and to the amount of aid given by the workmen to the collective work—you will find both a decrease of poverty and an increase of morality.

In the canton of Zurich, in the Engadine, and many other parts of Switzerland, where the peasant is a proprietor, and land, capital and labour are united in the hands of a single individual; in Norway, Flanders and Eastern Friesland; in Holstein; in the German Palatinate; in Belgium, and in the island of Guernsey, on the French coast, there is visible a prosperity comparatively superior to all the other parts of Europe,

where the cultivators are not the proprietors of the soil.

These countries are peopled by a race of agriculturists remarkable for their honesty, dignity, independence, and frank and open bearing.

The mining population of Cornwall in England, and those American navigators who trade as whalers between China and America, amongst whom this participation in the profits of their labour obtains, are recognised and admitted by official documents to be superior to the workmen who are remunerated by a predetermined rate of wages.

• Association of labour, and the division of the fruits of labour, or rather of the profits of the sale of its productions, between the producers, in proportion to the amount and value of the work done by each—this is the social future.

XVII. Education.

"We believe that, as life is one, and the law of life is one, the progress destined to be wrought out by collective humanity must be equally wrought out by the individual; and that it is, therefore, the duty of each man to employ the life given him by God, and to develop it."

123. *Education the Bread of the 'Soul.*

YOU are susceptible of education. There is in each of you a certain sum of moral tendencies and intellectual capacity to which education alone can give life and movement, and which, if uneducated, remain inert and sterile, or but reveal themselves by fits, and without regular development.

Education is the bread of the soul. Even as physical organic life is unable to flourish and expand without material aliment, so does our moral and intellectual life require for its expansion and manifestation the external influence, and the assimilation—in part, at least—of the affections and tendencies of others.

124. *Duty of Education.*

The opponents of unity and education invoke liberty in their support. The liberty of whom? Of the fathers or of the children. In their system the moral liberty of the children is violated by the despotism of the father; the liberty of the young generation is sacrificed to the old, and liberty of progress is rendered an illusion. True liberty is not the right to choose evil, but the right of choice between the various paths that lead to good. The liberty involved by these shallow philosophers is, in fact, an arbitrary right given to the father to choose the wrong for his child. What! if a father should threaten to mutilate or in any way injure the *body* of his child, society would interfere, called on and invoked by all; and shall the soul of that child be of less worth than the body? Shall not society interfere to protect him from the mutilation of his faculties, from ignorance, from the perversion of his moral sense, from superstition?

125. *National Education.*

To the state belongs the formation of the decrees by which national education shall be rendered universal, obligatory and uniform in its general bearing and direction.

Moral unity is far more important than material unity, and without a national education moral unity is impossible, anarchy is inevitable. National education is, moreover, the sole just basis on which to found a penal code.

They who oppose the principle of national education in the name of individual independence, do not perceive that they but remove the child from the teaching of all his fellow-countrymen, to hand over his intellect and independence to the arbitrary rule and direction of one sole individual—the father. Liberty and association are both sacred, and both must be represented by education. The social duty by the inculcation and transmission of the national programme, and liberty of progress by the concession of a like freedom of transmission to all other programmes, which should be protected and encouraged by the state. The individual would then be free to make his choice.

XVIII. Art and Literature.

"We believe that as in collective humanity every presentiment of a vaster and purer ideal, every earnest aspiration towards good, is destined, it may be after the lapse of ages, to be realised; so in the individual every intuition of the Truth, every aspiration towards the good and the ideal, is a pledge of future development: a germ to be evolved in the course of the series of existences constituting life."

126 *Decline of Art and Social Faith.*

IT is important that we should be convinced that if music is to be regenerated, it must be *spiritualised*; that, if it is to be awakened to new life and power, it must be reconsecrated to a mission; and that if we would not have it sink into the useless and fantastic, we must connect that mission with the general mission of the arts of the epoch, and seek its character from the character of the epoch: in other words, we must render its ministry *social*, and identify it with the progressive movement of humanity.

Who has ever lifted up his voice to declare, not to *maestri* and professors, for they are ever incorrigible, but to the young, eager for progress, but ignorant of

the path to be chosen?—The art you cultivate is holy, and you must render your lives holy also if you would become its priests. The art entrusted to your ministry is closely bound up with the progress of civilisation, and may become the very breath, soul and sacred incense of that civilisation, if you seek your inspiration amid the vicissitudes of its progress, rather than from arbitrary artistic canons quite foreign to the general laws which govern all human things.

Music is the harmonious voice of creation; an echo of the invisible world; one note of the Divine concord which the entire universe is destined one day to sound. How can you hope to seize that note if not by elevating your minds to the contemplation of the universe, viewing with the eye of faith things invisible to the unbelieving, and compassing the whole creation in your study and affection? Why rest contented with stringing notes together—mere *trouvères* of a day—when it rests with you to consecrate yourselves, even on earth, to a mission such as in the popular belief only God's angels know?

127. *The Music of the Future.*

German music is the music of *preparation*; it is profoundly religious, yet with a religion that has no symbol, and therefore no active faith translated in deeds, no

martyrdom, no victory; it embraces you with a chain of gradations linked by a master's hand; surrounds you and cradles you upon a wave of chords, elevating and awaking the heart and the fancy, and arousing your every faculty—to what aim? You fall back again, when the music has ceased, into reality, into the prosaic life that hums around, with the consciousness of another world revealed afar off, not bestowed; with the sense of having approached the first mysteries of a great initiation, never begun;—but neither stronger in will nor safe from the assaults of misfortune.

Italian music lacks the conception or ruling thought that sanctifies all effort, the moral aim that directs the mental powers, and the baptism of a mission: German music wants the energy to fulfil it; it wants not the sentiment, but the formula of the mission. Italian music is rendered barren by materialism: German music consumes itself uselessly in mysticism.

So the two schools proceed, separate in jealous rivalry, and remain, the one the chosen school of the North, the other of the South. And the music I foresee—European music—will never exist until the two, fused into one, are directed towards a social aim: until, joined in the consciousness of unity, these two elements, now forming two separate worlds, shall together form and animate one alone; and the sanctity

of faith which distinguishes the German school shall bless the power of action which thrills through the Italian, and combine in musical expression the two fundamental terms—Individuality and the Thought of the universe: God and man.

128. *A Cathedral.*

When at times, with a heart weary of the present and discouraged as to the future, I stand at sunset before one of those temples to which a traditionary error has given the name of Gothic, and see how the very soul of Christianity has inspired the whole edifice; how the spirit of prayer bends the arch, or threads its way upwards along the winding columns, to mount to heaven on the spire; when, entering in, I see the red blood of the martyr blended with the hues of hope, offered up to God upon the lofty windows, and feel how the aspiration of the believer's soul towards the Infinite informs the ample and mysterious vault of the roof, whence the spirit of Christ, descending from the huge cupola to the sanctuary, was diffused around the vast walls, surrounding and embracing in its love and benediction the entire church, which it peopled with apostles, saints and confessors, to narrate to a population of believers the long Christian tradition of martyrdom, virtue, resignation and sacrifice, while his Law

was sounded from time to time by the grand voice of the organ, then—how vast soever the mission of the epoch to come may be—I cannot despair of art, nor of the miracles yet to be wrought by genius through its aid.

129. *The Mission of Art to Democracy.*

I know no more beautiful symbol of the future destiny and mission of art than the death of Byron in Grèce. The holy alliance of poetry with the cause of the peoples; the union—still so rare—of thought and action, which alone completes the human Word, and is destined to emancipate the world; the grand solidarity of all nations in the conquest of the rights ordained by God for all His children, and in the accomplishment of that mission for which alone such rights exist;—all that is now the religion and the hope of the party of progress throughout Europe, is gloriously typified in this image, which we, barbarians that we are, have already forgotten. The day will come when Democracy will remember all that it owes to Byron; England, too, will, I hope, one day remember the mission—so entirely English, yet hitherto overlooked by her—which Byron fulfilled on the Continent; the European rôle given by him to English literature, and

the appreciation and sympathy for England which he awakened amongst us.

Before he came, all that was known of English literature was the French translation of Shakspeare, and the anathema hurled by Voltaire against the "intoxicated barbarian." It is since Byron that we Continentalists have learned to study Shakspeare and other English writers. From him dates the sympathy of all the true-hearted amongst us for this land of liberty, whose true vocation he so worthily represented among the oppressed. He led the genius of Britain on a pilgrimage throughout all Europe.

130. *The Drama of the Future.*

The drama of Providence, a drama that shall reflect the conscience of the human race; that preserving the representation of the individual prominent and intact, shall yet find a means of connecting him with the general design of which he is a free agent; that looks for and teaches truth through the medium of historic reality, and the principle, through the fact that displays through the special subject chosen the general law of the epoch, above that the law of humanity, and supreme over all the Deity—Initiator of the epochs, and Father of humanity; a drama that shall substi-

tute for the fatality that crushes and overwhelms the mission that elevates and ennobles, and for the expiation that cancels error, the sacrifice that merits praise; such a social drama, eminently religious and educational, as much vaster than the drama of Shakespeare, in proportion and purpose, as the idea of humanity is grander than the individual idea,—will arise in the epoch we foresee, and should even now be set before youthful genius as the ultimate goal.

131. *Dante.*

The thought that burned within the soul of Dante is the same that ferments in the bosom of our own epoch. Every instinct within us points to this truth. It is for this that we gather with new earnestness around his image, as if to place our wavering belief beneath the protection of the vast wings of his genius.

I do not say that the individual belief of each of the writers I have named is identical with that entertained by Dante; but I say that the general idea which gave rise to their labours, and towards the realisation of which they are endeavouring to raise up a system of beliefs, is the idea to which Dante consecrated the whole energies of his soul and genius five centuries ago.

This, then, was the faith by which, in the thirteenth century, the soul of Dante was sustained and upheld:—

God is one. The universe is a thought of God ; the universe therefore is one, as He is one. All things come from God, and all participate, more or less, in the Divine nature, according to the end for which they are created. They all navigate towards different ports upon the great ocean of existence, but all are moved by the same will. Flowers in the garden of God, they all merit our love according to the degree of excellence He has bestowed upon each. Of these Man is the most eminent. Upon him God has bestowed more of His own nature than upon any other created thing. In the continuous scale of being, that man whose nature is the most degraded approaches the animal ; he whose nature is the most noble approaches the angel. Everything that comes from the hand of God tends towards the perfection of which it is susceptible, and man more earnestly and more vigorously than all the rest. There is this difference between him and other creatures, that his perfectibility is what Dante calls "*possible*," which he uses for *indefinite*. Coming from the bosom of God, the human soul incessantly aspires towards Him, and endeavours, by holiness and knowledge, to become reunited with its source. Now, the life of the indivi-

dual man is too short and too weak to enable Him to satisfy that yearning in this world ; but around Him, before Him, stands the whole human race, to which He is allied by His social nature that lives for ever, accumulating from generation to generation its labours upon the road to eternal truth. Humanity is one. God has made nothing in vain, and since there exists a *collective* Being, a multitude of men, there exists one aim for them all, one work to be accomplished by them all. Whatever this aim may be, it certainly exists, and it is our duty to endeavour to discover and attain it. Mankind, then, ought to work together in unity and concord, in order that the intellectual power bestowed upon them may receive the highest possible development in the double sphere of thought and action. It is only by harmony—consequently by association—that this is possible. Mankind must be *one* even as God is *one*: one in organisation, as it is already *one* in its principle. Unity is taught by the manifest design of God in the external world, and by the necessity of an aim. Unity requires something by which it may be represented: hence the necessity for a unity of government. Therefore it is indispensable that there be some centre to which the collective inspiration of mankind may ascend, thence to descend again in the form of Law,—a power strong in unity

and in the counsel of the higher intellects naturally destined to rule ; providing with calm wisdom for all the different functions, the distinct employments which are to be fulfilled ; itself performing the part of pilot, of supreme chief, in order to achieve the highest possible degree of perfection. Dante calls it "the universal Religion of human nature": in other words, empire—Imperium. It will be its duty to maintain concord amongst the rulers of states, and this peace will diffuse itself from that high centre into towns, from the towns among each cluster of habitations, into every household and the individuals of which it is composed.

The few and brief quotations I have given will suffice to show that, from the study of these works of Dante, the Italians will find not only the consecration of the National idea by the greatest Italian genius, but an unexpected harvest of truths which have been claimed by writers long posterior. In these pages, written five centuries ago, the tradition of Italian philosophy is linked to the school of Pythagoras, Pelesio, Campanella and Giordano Bruno. The holy doctrine of progress obtains the support of an authority hitherto unsuspected, but anterior to every other known. The collective life of the human race ; the law of its incessant development and progressive

advance, accomplished through the medium of perpetually extending association, the prophetic announcement of a social unity arising from the right distribution of the various social functions with a view to one common *aim*—the theory of duty, all that forms the basis and the merit of a school generally regarded as French—we find laid down for us in these books by an Italian of the thirteenth century, which have been hitherto neglected, probably in consequence of their uninviting style and form.

Men returned to the study of Dante, not to seek in him forms, or images, or metres, but to revive the fainting muse of his powerful and masculine thought, thence to draw holy inspirations of patriotism and humanity. They recognised in Dante more than the poet, more than the creator of a language: they recognised in him the great citizen, the reformer, the poet of the religion, the prophet of the nationality of Italy.

132. *Schiller.*

Schiller possessed both sanctity of soul and faith in God and in the destiny of humanity, even when he beheld it degraded. His genius was the gift of God,

and it led him to that height upon which he as yet stands alone, by revealing to him the haven of Providence. Schiller is the poet of Providence and of Hope. His heaven is vast, serene and lovely as the Italian sky; and even when clouded by sorrow and misfortune, one star remains shining above the tempest and triumphing over both, for in the dramas of Schiller the first purifies and the second elevates man.

If Æschylus teaches us greatly to resist and nobly to succumb, and Shakspeare calmly to face and to despise both life and death, Schiller inspires us to noble action and to sacrifice. The whole religion of sacrifice is contained in his works. The great social idea, which is the secret of our epoch, is the life and soul of his dramas. The poetry of the future, the educator of the human race, is foreseen and adored by him. No sooner had he—in his *Robbers* and *Kabal und Liebe*—paid his tribute to the epoch in which he lived, than he advanced a step beyond it, entered another world, and consecrated himself the poet of the new Faith and priest of that art which shall one day loosen the bonds of Prometheus, and crown him with the immortal wreath reserved by Providence for the martyrs of thought—flowers that may not be gathered by the individual, but by humanity alone. With his presentiment and love of humanity—a love as yet but little

understood, but destined to sanctify all other affections, by raising them to the height of the lost religious idea—he has foreseen the union and accord between the individual and the social idea, between liberty and the law of the universe.

In Schiller man is presented to us free, and possessed of a fulness and power of faith of which neither the ancients nor Shakspeare had any conception. The guiding star of his destiny burns, as he tells us, in his own breast, and you feel at the same time that, even should he be false to that destiny, and forsake the guidance of that star, he cannot extinguish its ray within him. You feel, should he consecrate his life as a mission to the development of a holy thought, that though he may succumb in the struggle, his death will be but the death of the body, the destruction of the form, and that his soul will live for ever in that great idea. You feel, should he prove unworthy and grovel in the dust of individual passion and egotism, rebellious to that social idea and to the law of the universe, that though he may expire, the idea is immortal, and that Providence, watching over its fulfilment from on high, will cause even his action against it and the brief triumph of the power he abused, to bring forth some

element of social progress, and aid in the development of the design of God in the Creation.

This sense of a Providence, which informs the master-works of Schiller, is the secret of the influence he exerts, and long will exert, over the minds of his readers.

133. *Æschylus and Shakspeare.*

Shakspeare's personages, like those of Æschylus, are doomed. Necessity watches over them unseen, poisoning their every thought, hope and joy with an undefined, inexplicable sense of discouragement, like the remorse of an unforgiven crime. But in Æschylus the individual is doomed from birth; the decree of fatality goes forth while he yet sleeps in his mother's arms; the curse on the father extends to the children; and the only liberty vouchsafed to man is that of dying more or less nobly.

In Shakspeare—and this is a real progress—liberty does exist. The act of a single day, or it may be of an hour, has thrown an entire life under the dominion of necessity; but in that day or hour the man was free and arbiter of his own future.

134. *Victor Hugo.*

What has Victor Hugo desired to effect ?

He has desired to effect a literary revolution, a revolution, not in forms only—over those, whatever may be said to the contrary, he has triumphed—but in essentials. He has desired to change both the starting-point and the goal of poetry, and between these two to conquer full liberty as to means. Literature was, generally speaking, material ; and his desire, following Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, was to spiritualise it. All alliance between creeds and literature, between poesy and faith, was broken ; he aspired to reknit that old alliance. This he desired, and proclaimed his desire aloud, saying, in the preface to his “Cromwell,” “The starting-post of religion must ever be the starting-post of poetry. . . . The literature of the present day is the anticipated expression of a religious society . . . which will doubtless arise, ere long, from amidst so many crumbling old fragments, so many recent ruins.” The fall of the empire, what was it, in fact, but Thought beginning to penetrate the age ? Our youth experienced analogous wants ; Victor Hugo said to them : “I will expound your inmost thoughts, I will be your poet !” and as such he was accepted.

From that moment he pledged himself within his

own soul to achieve a great work of rehabilitation in favour of all these rejected beings, restoring to poetry one-half the world, which had hitherto been lost to her. To this enterprise he wholly devoted himself. Accordingly, as early as 1827, he said, in his preface to "Cromwell," Christianity leads Poesy to truth, teaching the modern muse to look upon all things as she herself does, from on high, and with a more comprehensive *coup d'œil*. Thus the modern muse will feel that everything in creation is not, humanly speaking, beautiful; that the ugly exists there beside the beautiful, the grotesque on the reverse of the sublime, deformity close to grace, evil with good, shade with light. She will ask herself whether the confined and relative reason of the artist can be deemed superior to the infinite, absolute reason of the Creator; whether it is for man to rectify God; whether mutilation can improve the beauty of nature; whether art be authorised to unline—if we use the word—man, life, creation; . . . whether, in fine, incompleteness be an element of harmony? Then will poetry take a great, a decisive step—a step which, like the shock of an earthquake, will change the whole face of the intellectual world. The muse will now work like nature. . . . Behold a new type introduced into poetry—that type is the grotesque. We have now indicated the characteristic

feature, the fundamental difference which, in our opinion, separates modern from ancient art, the living form from the dead, romantic from classic literature.

135. *Shakspeare—Apostle of Individuality.*

The dramas of Shakspeare summed up and expressed this period more completely perhaps than could have been done by the greatest historian. He wrote in the sixteenth century, and he seems to have arrested the expiring soul of the Middle Ages in its flight, in order to transpose it into his personages. His drama is the drama of *individuality*.

The individual is everything to him, and in the art of perfectly depicting a character with a few master-strokes, Dante, Tacitus and Michael Angelo are his only rivals. He does not laboriously copy, he casts the whole in a single mould; he does not evoke, he creates. Shakspeare's personages live and move as if they had just come forth from the hand of God, with a life that, though manifold, is one, and though complex, is harmonious.

They are not symbols of any absolute or ideal type; they do not profane God's work by representing His creatures in fragments. The human being is not defined by its most prominent faculty, nor life by its

most potent manifestation. The beings themselves—life itself—are brought before us on the scene, and that with a reality, truth and perfection the highest ever attained by man. No tint or shadow is forgotten—and to those who read with penetration, the secret of a whole life, and the true interpretation of a character will transpire from the most trifling revelation, from a gesture or a word unnoticed by the many. The *Ego* is in the dramas of Shakspeare in all the modifications, mysteries and apparent irregularities of which conscience is susceptible. But it does not reign alone. In his plays, as in the Middle Ages, an unseen power governs the actions of the individual, follows ever on his track, and impels him along the paths himself has chosen to the catastrophe that choice determines. It is no universal law acting upon collective humanity, no social religious idea. Shakspeare shows neither the consciousness of a law nor of humanity : the future is mute in his dramas, and enthusiasm for great principles unknown. His genius comprehends and sums up the past and the present, it does not initiate the future. He interpreted an epoch ; he announced none. Necessity, which was the soul of the period, stalks invisibly throughout his dramas, magically introduced,—whether by art or instinct I know not ;—I know that its reflex is seen alike on the brow of

Othello and of Macbeth; it colours the scepticism of Hamlet and the light irony of Mercutio; it surrounds with a halo of pre-ordained woe the figures of his women, Divine creations, sacred to love, innocence and resignation; and it inspires the generality of his personages with those reflections on the nullity of human things and the worthlessness of life which so constantly recur throughout his plays, and leave a bitter sense of delusion on the youthful soul that approaches the works of genius as a sanctuary wherein to seek inspiration and counsel for maturer years.

Shakspeare felt the void around the solitary soul; he felt the worthlessness of human life when not united with other lives by faith in a common progress; and he revealed it in many passages similar to that in which he bitterly says,—

“Life’s but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more, it is a tale,
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury—
Signifying nothing.” . .

But man was not sent here to enact the part of an idiot, burthensome to himself, and useless to others; and if life be but a shadow, when sanctified by sacrifice it is the shadow of God.

With Shakspeare the drama expired. I speak of the drama in its highest form, that *organic* drama which lays the foundations of an entire school, reflects the lineaments of a whole epoch, and displays upon the scene the ruling characteristics and generative element of a whole period of civilisation.

Such a drama as this can only co-exist with a religious idea, and after Shakspeare the religious idea continued to languish, until it disappeared.

The *Ego* rebelled against necessity, as it had formerly rebelled against fate, and recommenced with regard to moral equality, the work accomplished by Greek genius with regard to liberty.

136. *No Heaven: no Drama.*

The human intellect at the present day, placed between desires greater than the possibility of attainment, and the idea of a mission vaster than the power of accomplishment, is restless, anxious and depressed. Man either fixes a prayerful glance upon a future beyond his reach, or utters a cry of grief and rage like a chained lion. And the winds scatter alike both rage and prayer.

And the drama, which progresses with the history of the human mind, having vainly sought improvement

in every form, having been converted into a sort of mosaic of ancient and modern forms upon the French stage; having dwindled down into mere imitation of every school, every people, and every method—servilely obeying some preconceived and despotic rules, and never venturing beyond the confines of the individualist school of philosophy—is now silent, awaiting a genius capable of reviving it.

At the present day, then, we have no longer a drama, because we have no longer a heaven.

137. *Faith will revive Poetry.*

With faith will revive poetry, rendered fruitful by the breath of God, and by a holy creed. Poetry, excited now from a world a prey of anarchy; poetry, the flower of the angels, nourished by the blood of martyrs, and watered by the tears of mothers, blossoming often among ruins, but ever coloured by the rays of dawn; poetry, a language prophetic of humanity, European in essence, and national in form, will make known to us the fatherland of all the nations hitherto divided; translate the religious and social synthesis through art, and render still lovelier by its light,

Woman, an angel, fallen it is true, but yet nearer heaven than we, and hasten her redemption by restoring her to her mission of inspiration, prayer and pity, so divinely symbolised by Christianity in Mary.

Poetry will sing to us the joys of martyrdom; the immortality of the vanquished; the tears that expiate; the sorrows that purify; the records, hopes and traditions of the past world twining around the cradle of the new. It will whisper words of consolation to those children of suffering, sent amongst mankind too soon; those powerful but doomed souls, who, like Byron, have no confidant on earth, and whom even yet men seek to deprive of their God. Poetry will teach the young the nobleness of sacrifice, of constancy, and silence; of feeling oneself alone without despairing, in an existence of suffering unknown or misunderstood; in long years of bitterness, wounds and delusion, endured without murmur or lament; it will teach them to have faith in things to come, and to labour unceasingly to hasten their coming, even though without hope of living to witness their triumph.

138. *The Ministry of Art.*

The special aim of art is to excite mankind to reduce *thought to action.*

Art seizes upon the idea lying inactive in the mind, to instil it into the heart, confides it to the affections, and converts it into a passion which transforms man from a thinker into an apostle. I do not mean that art, as it is understood by unfaithful men at the present day, fulfils this mission. I mean that it ought to be such, that it was such in each great epoch of its existence, and that it has declined, and become degraded into the mere amusement of the idle, and the parody of its true self, whenever it has departed from that aim.

The highest condition of art is when it interrogates the thought of the epoch in the nation and in humanity, translates it in symbols and images, and clothes it in forms that stimulate the heart, the fancy, and the affections, to make it a part of their own life, and insure its triumph.

Now, if art would re-establish its influence, its fallen worship, it must burst forth from this state of anarchy or of indifference to the great things acting, or about to be acted, in the world; it must no longer withdraw to one side, but stand in the centre, swaying the heart of the social impulse. Art must no longer simply reflect reality without addition or modification, must no

longer merely count the wounds affronting its eye; art must now, whilst sounding those wounds with fearless hand, do that which shall determine men to heal them. Art must not say, "All is evil," and sink into despair: for well has Jean Paul declared, "Despair is the true atheism." Art must say, "There is evil here," and still must hope. Art must not, either in misanthropy or in the prudery of virtue, shun the fallen and corrupt creature; but accost it mercifully and devotedly, endeavouring to raise and purify it by a breath of innocence, of religion, and of poetry, and by revelations concerning its origin, its terrestrial lot, and its futurity. Whilst pointing out to man the arena assigned to his labour, art must teach him, not his weakness, but his strength; must inspire him, not with faint-heartedness, but with energy and a vigorous will. Are we in the desert? Are our steps in danger of being bewildered amidst the night of scepticism? Then be art our pillar of fire, guiding us to our promised land! We shall be found true believers, submissive and grateful.

139. *Philosophy verified by Religion.*

Philosophy, since its earliest existence, has almost always been the repository of the ruling Thought of

its epoch. But that Thought, while confined to the regions of philosophy, is unfruitful; the object of mere individual contemplation, it is incapable of modifying social life, unable to incarnate itself in, and direct the action of mankind.

Religion seizes upon that thought, re-links it to heaven, gives it the consecration of a Divine origin and of a future; then, setting it on high as the supreme law and aim of human action, transforms the world through it.

140. *Art for Art's Sake.*

There are two errors that threaten art:—the theory that it is an imitation of nature, and the theory that would make self-worship its ruling law, and has created the formula of *Art for art's sake*. The first would deprive it of all spontaneous individual life; the second breaks the link that binds it to the universe, and leaves it to wander like a sick man's dream, guided by no law, destitute of all mission or aim, at the bidding of every new sensation. The first theory renders art useless, the second dangerous; both condemn it to sterility.

Art does not imitate, but interpret. It searches out the idea lying dormant in the symbol, in order

to present the symbol to men in such form as to enable them to penetrate through it to the idea: were it otherwise, what would be the use or value of art?

Nature is for art the garb of the Eternal. The *real* is the finite expression and representation of the true; *forms* are the limits affixed by time and space to the power of life. Nature, reality and form, should, all of them, be so rendered and expressed by art, as to reveal to mankind some ray of the truth—a vaster and profounder sentiment of life.

The opposite theory reduces the poet to a level with the photographer.

Art is not the fancy or caprice of an individual. It is the mighty voice of God and the universe, as heard by the chosen spirit, and repeated in tones of harmony to mankind.

Should that omnipotent voice strike too directly upon the mortal ear, it would stun and suspend all human action, even as Pantheism crushed the ancient Oriental world.

Art is no isolated, unconnected or inexplicable phenomenon. It draws its life from the life of the universe, and with the universe it ascends from epoch to epoch towards the Almighty. It owes its power over the souls of men to that collective life—even

as the trees and plants draw their life from earth, the common mother; and its power would be destroyed should it attempt to forsake its source.

The artistic formula *Art for art's sake*, is as atheistic as the political formula, *Each for himself*, which may for a few years rule the actions of a people in decline, but can never guide a people arising to new life, and destined to fulfil a great mission.

141. *Popular Art.*

I believe the final scope and aim of art to be the promotion and development of civilisation among the multitude, and I believe that with the multitude, as with children, and indeed with every individual, the faculties are more fully and effectively developed, by the exercise of deducing the corollaries of a fact, and discovering the character of an idea for themselves, than by any absolute, exclusive or one-sided instruction.

142. *Failure of Modern Drama.*

And the drama—even though fashioned after the old models, disfigured by authors, who have stolen everything from the Greeks except the habits and

modes of life, which rendered their theatre a supplement to their other institutions, and learned from the French to make of it the amusement of noble triflers and the ornament of a court—ever delights the people, and keeps their attention alive throughout all the alternations of the action, until the catastrophe puts an end to the drama and their emotion together. Or if, indeed, the attempt be made to awaken any lasting passion, and to produce an impression upon the mind of the spectator, calculated to endure beyond the door of the theatre, it is a negative passion, a rage to destroy, rather than a desire to build up: the sole object appears to be to inspire hatred.

143. *God the Inspirer of National Literature.*

I believe, as I have said, that where a people shall be gathered together, and prepared to receive the Spirit of God, the Spirit of God will descend.

In primitive epochs, where the mind of the nation is either shrouded in darkness or veiled in dubious light, while the soil is virgin of all literary initiation, it is the office of genius, drawing its inspiration from the sources and origin of the nation that gave it birth, and the tendencies they reveal, to found the national literature of its own will and authority, and to con-

stitute itself king of its future art. God created Dante and Italian literature together.

144. *A New Birth in Literature.*

The school of Monti, founded on the idea that Poetry was a second Painting, condemned the art to mere materialism; it translated images by images, and attained no further, wandering through a world of symbols without seeking their meaning. The new generation willed otherwise. Once on the path of liberty, they determined to make it all their own. They rose with the spirit of revolutionists to complete their emancipation. Blows were aimed to the right and left, wherever obstacles to liberty existed. It was declared that whatever had existence—the beautiful, the homely; the past, the present; the real, the ideal—were all within the domain of Art; and further, that poetry possessed the right, not only of describing nature, but of interpreting her; that man and nature ought to be her principal topics, and that genius and the taste of the age were her only lawgivers. Thus was the past broken with, and the authority of its narrow systems overturned.

145. *The Poet's Mission.*

The mission of the poetic art is identical with that of the social world, and the former ought to be improved and enlarged, so as to keep pace with the moral improvement and advance of the latter.

It is a question between two definitions of poetry, one of which may be given in the words of M. Lamartine, "*La poésie est un chant intérieur*," and the other in the words of the extraordinary man who, nearly three centuries ago, said it was

"The prophetic soul
Of the wide world dreaming on things to come."

146. *The Best Poetry that which Renders the
Reader most Poetical.*

Written poetry, like music performed, should be, in some sort, a prelude to other poetry, which the excited soul of the reader composes silently within itself. In other words, that will be the best poetry which renders the reader most poetical; as the best education will ever be, not that which teaches most, but that which imparts the greatest capacity for thought.

147. *The Need of the Present for Poetry.*

If the importance of the poet's mission is to be estimated relatively to the moral wants of the generation for which he sings, assuredly it never was more important than now. In the existing struggle between two principles, in which all Europe is more or less involved, the object even of art should be to impel men towards the one or the other, to breathe into them the virtues and the enthusiasm indispensably requisite to enable them to triumph without guilt. In the evident exhaustion of European poetry and literature, amidst the scepticism thus generated in all minds, the object should be to remake a poetry for men, to remake believers for the poet.

148. *Poetry the Breath of God.*

This is a grand and beautiful thought, at once moral and profoundly artistic. There ought, in fact, no more to be Pariahs for art than for society. Nothing that the world contains ought to be interdicted to art, for this plain reason, that whatever exists is part of the universal order, and this universal order is God Himself, the Eternal Source of all poetry. The breath of God is everywhere; to everything He has given an object, a

station, a function in the whole. Now, where the thought of God lives, is it possible there should be no poetic element? Art seeks this element in order to disengage and bring it forward. The eye of the poet plunges deep into all objects, in order to surprise, in their inmost recesses, that portion of God's thought which must exist there; a miner in the moral world, he explores its entrails, seeking pure gold in the amalgam that conceals it, the diamond in the mire. He knows that whatever appears to be an exception or an irregularity, appears so only because its proper place in the universal order has not been ascertained; because to condemn at once has been found easier than to study. He knows that there exists not in creation a being so fallen, a heart so perverse, as not to afford one side by which it may be again knit to humanity; one chord capable of vibrating in unison with the good—that is to say, with universal harmony; one aspect, under which to appear as appertaining to the beautiful—in other words, to the visible expression of universal harmony. He seeks this aspect, this chord, this side. He aims, not at remodelling creation—for that act were impotent—his object is to explain it, to apprehend its life, and translate it in harmony for his auditory. Those who entertain a different idea of art resign themselves to perpetual incompleteness;

they fall inevitably into the conventional, the arbitrary rule of precepts ; and by isolating art, condemn it to perish, sooner or later, of inanition. Art lives of the world's life ; the world's law is art's law ; and hence the progressive changes and development of art, which only together with the world can perish.

XIX. Love and Immortality.

“We believe that pure, virtuous and constant affection is a promise of communion in the future, and a link—invisible, but powerful, in its effect upon human action—between the dead and the living.”

149. *The Ennobling Power of Love.*

THE love of Dante is calm, resigned and submissive; death does not convert it into a remorse; it sanctifies it. Far different from the love which in our age of transition has deserved the name of *l'égoïsme à deux personnes*, a jealous and convulsive passion, half pride, half thirst of enjoyment, which narrows the sphere of our activity, and causes us to forget our duties both towards our country and Humanity—the love of Dante does not dry up the other affections; it fosters and fertilises them all; strengthens the sense of duty, and enlarges the heart to embrace the whole earth. He says in the “Vita Nuova”: “Whensoever she appeared before me, I had no enemy left on earth; the flame of charity kindled within me caused me to forgive all who had

ever offended me." The power of further advance upon the path of purity and improvement instilled into him by Beatrice, is the constant theme of his verses; he felt that her death had imposed new and solemn duties upon him; that he was bound to strive to render himself more worthy of her. He resolved to love her to the last day of his existence, and to bestow upon her an immortality upon earth, and he kept the vow. His union with Gemma Donati does not appear to have been, as others have asserted, unhappy; but calm and cold; and rather the accomplishment of a social duty than an irresistible impulse of the heart. The brief weakness of his fancies for Gentucca and Madonna Pietra passed like clouds over his soul's horizon; above them shone the serene heaven, illumined by the undying image of Beatrice, the sun of his inward life. He gave her name to one of his daughters, whom Boccaccio afterwards saw when a nun at Ravenna. The memory of Beatrice was his inspiration, not only in the magnificent pages which he consecrated to her towards the close of his life in the great poem; but in that worship of woman which pervades it from beginning to end. In his love of every form of beauty, in his incessant yearning after inward purity, Beatrice was the muse of his intellect, the angel of his soul, the

consoling spirit sustaining him in exile and in poverty, throughout the cheerless wanderings of the most storm-beaten existence we know.

150. *True Love.*

Love! love is the flight of the soul towards God; towards the great, the sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadow of God upon 'earth. Love your family, the partner of your life, those around you ready to share your joys and sorrows; love the dead who were dear to you, and to whom you were dear. But let your love be the love taught you by Dante and by us—the love of souls that aspire together; do not grovel on the earth in search of a felicity which it is not the destiny of the creature to reach here below; do not yield to a delusion which inevitably would degrade you into egotism.

To love is to give and take a promise for the future. God has given us love, that the weary soul may give and receive support upon the way of life. It is a flower springing up on the path of duty, but it cannot change its course. Purify, strengthen and improve yourselves by loving. Act always—even at the price of increasing her earthly trials—so that the sister soul united to your own may never

need, here or elsewhere, to blush through you or for you.

The time will come when, from the height of a new life, embracing the whole past, and comprehending its secret, you will smile together at the sorrows you have endured, the trials you have overcome.

At the present day—speaking generally—men do not love. Love, the holiest gift of God to man, vouchsafed as a pledge of a higher existence, has been converted by an unbelieving generation into gross sensualism, animal instinct, or feverish desire; the family—type and symbol on earth of the ceaseless action of the Deity upon the universe, and germ of all true society—is transformed into the negation of all social duty and activity; Man and Woman have been cancelled, to give place to the *male* and *female*.

151. *The Duties of Love.*

But if the women were to say to their lovers: "It is your duty not to *live* but to *joy* in me alone; to come to me for consolation in every sorrow: we are bound to make of our two lives a joint life, nobler and stronger in intellect and love; a joint sacrifice to

the high, the beautiful, and the Divine, and a continuous joint aspiration and advance towards eternal truth ;" if our fathers were to teach their children that the true definition of life is not a *search after happiness*, but a preparation, through the fulfilment of our earthly duties, for a higher stage of earthly existence,—if our mothers, who think themselves Christians, would meditate upon, and teach their sons some of the words of Christ, and the whole of that book of Maccabeus which appears as if written for the Italians,—they would better fulfil the duties of love, and our Italy would not be doomed to weep over the flower of her sons, lost to her one by one in solitary death on the scaffold, or by the soul's slow atrophy in exile.

152. *Communion with the Spirits of the Dead.*

The bier, as Jean Paul says, is the cradle of heaven. Dry your eyes, you who weep: the souls who have loved to the last moment of their earthly existence are appointed, in reward of their love and yours, to watch over you, to protect you, to elevate you one step nearer to God in the scale of your progressive transformations. Have you never, in some solemn moment, been visited by an intuition, a thought of genius, an

unwonted and brighter ray from the Eternal Truth? It was, perhaps, the breath of the being whom you have loved the most, and who has the most loved you on earth, passing across your burning forehead. When, soul-sickened by delusion and deception, you have shivered beneath the icy touch of Doubt, have you never felt a sudden glow of love and faith arise within your heart? It was, perhaps, the kiss of the mother you wept as lost, while she smiled at your error.

153. *Immortality.*

What is our terrestrial life save a prelude to the celestial, a step towards it? . . . The life of a soul is sacred in every stage of its existence; as sacred in the earthly stage as in those which are to follow: each stage must be made a preparation for the next. Every temporary advance must aid the gradual ascending progress of that immortal life breathed into us all by God Himself, as well as the progress of the great entity, humanity, which is developed through the labour of each and every individual. . . . Prove to mankind that the work of progressive development, to which you would call them, is a part of the design of God, and none will rebel. Prove to them that the earthly duties to be fulfilled here below are an essential

portion of their immortal life, and all the calculations of the present will vanish before the grandeur of the future.

I have faith in the immortality of life and in a progressive series of existences, which, in the eyes of the believer, transforms our sufferings here into the trials and difficulties of one who ascends a steep mountain, at the summit of which is God; a series of existences which are linked together, and gradually develop all that on earth is but germ or promise. Life is a mission—duty, therefore, its highest law. In the comprehension of that mission and fulfilment of that duty lie our means of future progress—the *secret*, of the stage of existence into which we shall be initiated at the conclusion of this earthly stage.

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